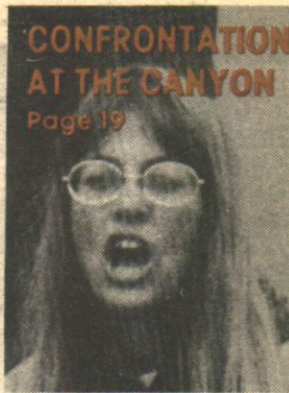


IN THESE TIMES

CONFRONTATION
AT THE CANYON
Page 19

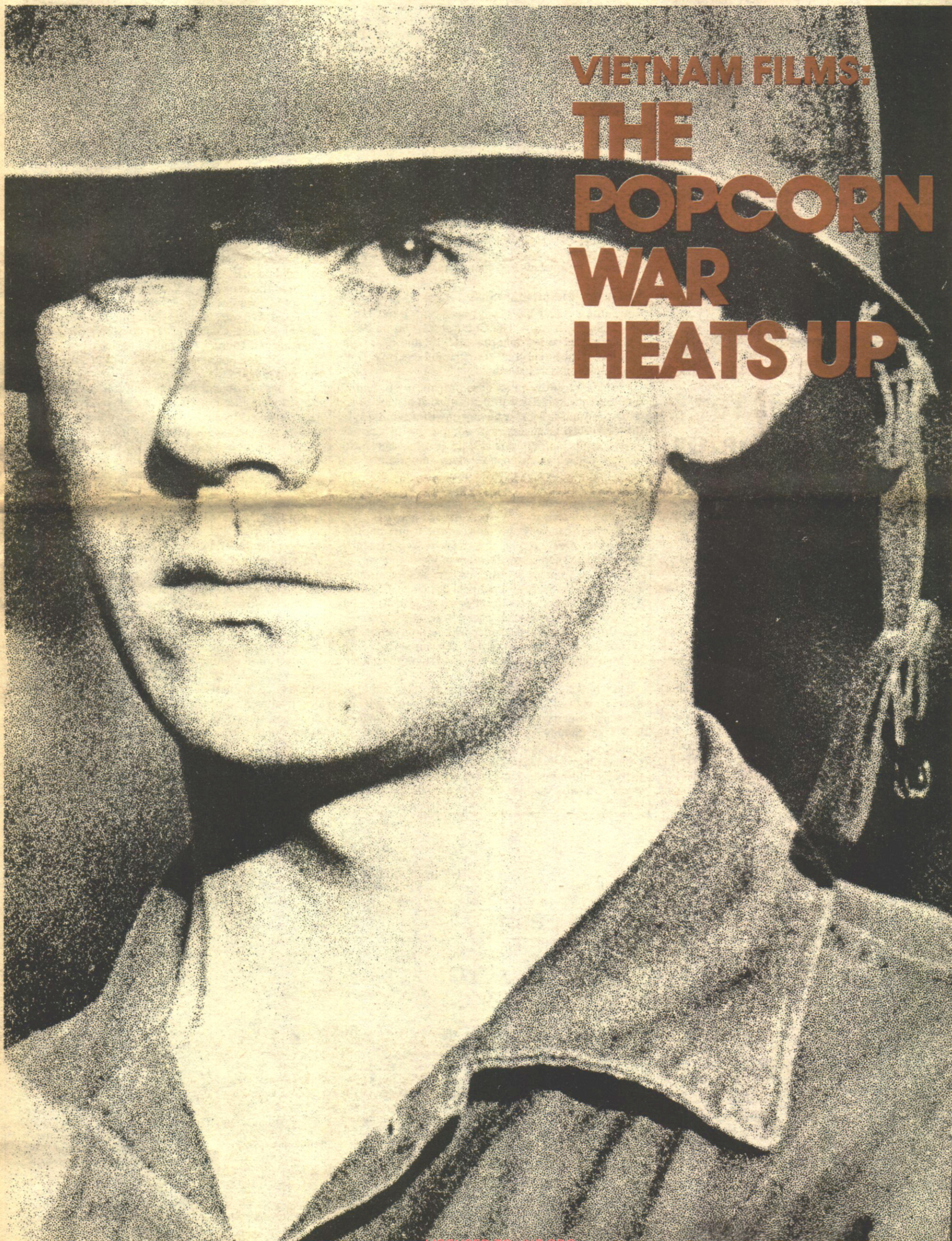


Vol. 2, No. 43

Sept. 20-26, 1978

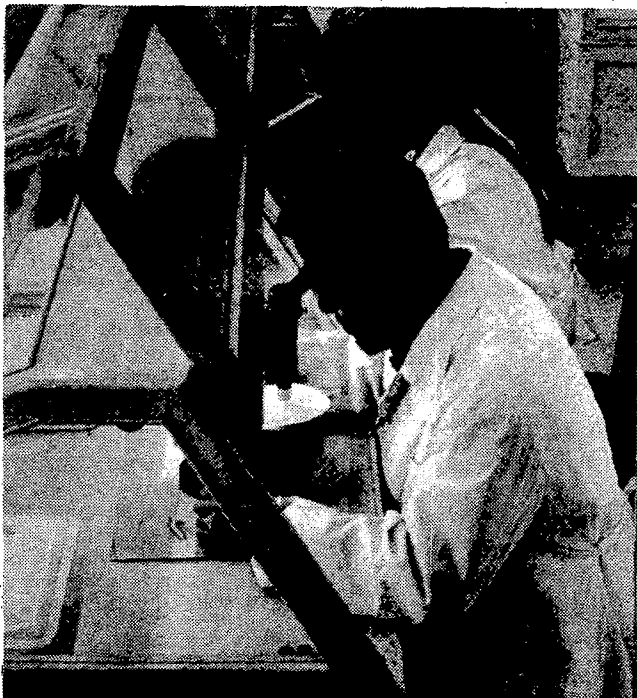
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VIETNAM FILMS: THE POPCORN WAR HEATS UP



THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by David Milton & Nancy Dall Milton



Workers test a thermal resistor.

China aims for superpower status by 2000

The Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty signed in Peking Aug. 12 represents a major realignment of the world system dominated by the two great superpowers. The decision to create a new world superpower by joining the vast population of China with the technological and economic strength of Japan was reached simultaneously in Peking, Tokyo and Washington. In an editorial weighing the treaty, consequences for the West of a clearly momentous historical event, the London *Economist* asked the key question: "Do you really want to help create a modern industrialized China of maybe 1 1/2 billion people, quite a lot of them presumably modern, industrious soldiers, sailors and missilemen by the year 2000?" Seeking the means to counter the growing military and political power of the Soviet Union, the *Economist* concludes that "the world can probably live" with the prospect of a modern China, presumably still allied with its new Western capitalist friends.

Within days following the Sino-Japanese pact, Peking launched a new aggressive diplomacy designed to create a Soviet "containment" alliance capable of surrounding Russia from the U.S. through Western Europe to Japan. China's Premier Hua Kuo-feng, apparently pursuing one of the "parallel interests" discussed with Chinese leaders by U.S. National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski during his visit to Peking last May, traveled to Romania and Yugoslavia in order to "destabilize" the Soviet Union's Eastern European backyard.

Simultaneously, Peking signaled its abandonment of China's longstanding principle of "liberating Taiwan" when Chinese scientists for the first time took part in an international conference in Tokyo also attended by Taiwanese representatives. The Taiwan question no longer retains top priority on the Peking agenda, a factor that will allow the U.S. to strengthen its influence with both Chinese regimes.

The post-Mao Chinese leadership has also brought its power to bear on Vietnam in a contest for spheres of influence in Southeast Asia. Peking is even willing to suffer the political embarrassment of its alliance with Cambodia. Old-fashioned nationalism appears to be replacing the revolutionary ideology of Mao Tse-tung as the motive force behind the drive to make China a leading industrial world power by the year 2000.

\$1600 TV sets

In the two years since Mao's death, the de-Maoization of China has proceeded at a dizzying pace. The decision of the Hua Kuo-feng/Teng H'siao-peng regime to

send tens of thousands of China's brightest students abroad in an effort to master the advanced science, technology and methodology of the West has stunned the capitals of the world. Never before has a communist country appeared willing to place so much of its fate in the hands of the advanced capitalist nations.

The *Kwangming Daily*, a leading Peking newspaper, has recently been quoting Lenin and Stalin to the effect that it is acceptable for communist countries to let foreigners develop their "mines, forests and oil fields." An editorial note accompanying the article deplored the fact that "some people" wear "mental shackles in the form of conservatism, arrogance and blind expulsion of foreign things."

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, a number of foreign banks have offered credit facilities to China in recent months. Peking has privately agreed to accept loans from Japan's commercial Export-Import Bank to help finance the recently signed \$20 billion Sino-Japanese trade agreement, and Japan has also apparently gained the right to participate directly in the development of China's offshore oil deposits. Four U.S. oil companies, Pennzoil Co., Exxon Corporation, Phillips Petroleum and Union Oil of California, are presently holding exploratory talks in Peking to lay the basis for joint development of China's offshore oil resources.

Chinese oil for the lamps of the West should soon be pouring into Western markets. Conversely, Western luxury goods, including Japanese color television sets selling at \$1600 are being purchased as soon as they arrive in China's department stores. Foreign sources estimate that China will purchase more than \$100 million of Western consumer goods in 1978. These goods will be absorbed by an emerging affluent class that includes dependents of overseas Chinese, middle and senior echelon bureaucrats and the growing elite of professors, scientists, technicians and managers.

Separate intellectual class

Educational policy has always been central to China's development strategy. The Cultural Revolution began with struggles concerning the selection and class composition of the intellectual elite that university students would inevitably constitute.

China's recently announced intention of sending thousands of university students abroad as part of the crash program to achieve advanced world standards by the year 2000 is an essential component of the new development plan. It carries with it other significant though unspoken statements, most importantly perhaps that the new education policy is not only unabashedly elitist (a fact already quite clear through the return to competitive entrance examinations), but also one that will lead to a Western-trained elite.

Observers can only speculate on the future implications of the creation of such a distinctly separate intellectual class. Predictions include an increasing westernization of Chinese institutions, the exacerbation of class antagonisms, future political uprisings, like those of both the recent and distant past, against "the tools of foreigners." However, there is general agreement that the historical significance will certainly equal the Chinese effort to learn from the West during the end of the Manchu Dynasty, which helped to spark the modern Chinese revolution.

Decisions flowing from the new priorities will bring other foreign influences into China's domestic scene. Technical experts from Western Europe, Japan and the U.S. are already coming into China in significant numbers, and the Chinese have just announced their interest in greatly expanding their tourist industry. In the new enthusiasm for learning from the West, the *People's Daily* pointed out that tourism was the only

sector of the economy that was growing in the capitalist world, and editorialized that tourism was important for China not only because it promoted understanding and friendship for other countries but also because it led to "the accumulation of funds for the realization of the grand plans of the four modernizations" (industry, defense, science, technology). So amid the inevitable complaints of tourists that they are encountering too many other tourists, the Chinese are announcing grand plans such as their intention to build a seven-story Peking duck restaurant in the capital city.

Announcements concerning students, tourists and foreign technical aid are recently revealed aspects of China's extraordinary plan for achieving all-round modernization by the end of the century. However, the means for increasing Chinese worker productivity have been made clear for almost two years now, coinciding with charges against the "Gang of Four" for their alleged sabotage of both agricultural and industrial production. They include replacing revolutionary committees by Soviet-style one-man management, greater worker discipline, the tightening of cost-accounting and financing procedures, the introduction of material incentives, such as bonuses and piecework remuneration, and the greater availability of consumer goods. The agreement with a Japanese company to produce a million television sets within a year for the Chinese market is but a hint of the magnitude of this transformation.

Neglected peasantry.

The ambitiousness and rapid implementation of the interlocking parts of the Teng-Hua plan for China's modernization is breathtaking, and there is good reason to expect that sectors of the Chinese population will find it exhilarating and compelling. Few could object to the liberalization in the field of culture, the restored concern for education, the increase and improvement of consumer commodities, the development of industry. However, it has been the debate over China's strategy for development, the "two-line struggle" that has several times approached civil war, that has dominated Chinese life for several decades. Central always to Mao's thought was the reality of China's 650 million peasants, a sector of the population not much mentioned in the scenario for the remainder of the century.

The basic problems that the Cultural Revolution addressed were those of elitism, hierarchy, equality, the gaps between city and countryside, industry and agriculture and mental and manual labor. Despite the failure of the Cultural Revolution, the problems that millions fought over then were the real contradictions that Mao saw emerging in Chinese society. Precisely the same problems remain today.

At the National People's Congress, Hua Kuo-feng stated that "...only by speeding up socialist modernization...can we...gradually eliminate the distinctions between mental and manual labor." Only time will reveal whether his prediction proves true in the long run, but it quite clearly cannot be so in the short run. Stress on rapid industrialization and high productivity will inevitably increase inequities between city and countryside, industry and agriculture. It is well understood in China, particularly after the raging debates of the last decade, that a meritocratic education system favors urban over rural youths, and those from intellectual families over less educated ones. Already there are reports of nasty confrontations at Peking University between new freshmen admitted through competitive examinations and the senior worker and peasant students, labelled "country bumpkins" by the new elite.

Doubts in the U.S.

The question of whether China should adopt the methods

Continued on page 10.

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IN THE NATION

ELECTIONS



Despite Muriel Humphrey's last-minute support, Don Fraser (right) lost to conservative businessman Bob Short in the race for one of Minnesota's senate seats.

Senate race comes up Short in upset

By Anthony Schmitz

MINNEAPOLIS

THE HEADLINE OF THE *Minneapolis Tribune* read "Fraser apparently beats Short" the morning after Minnesota's Democratic Farm Labor Party (DFL) Senate primary, a headline only slightly more accurate than the *Chicago Tribune's* classic "Dewey Wins." Out-of-state absentee votes trickling in through the night slowly turned the election around, giving conservative Minneapolis businessman Bob Short a narrow victory over Don Fraser, a liberal 16-year veteran of Congress, in the race for Hubert Humphrey's Senate seat.

The result was an indication of conservative strength. Fraser was a respected liberal Congressman, known for his early criticism of the Vietnam War, support of civil rights legislation and opposition to military expenditures such as the B-1 bomber and the latest nuclear aircraft carrier. Short beat a fashionable tattoo, identifying Fraser with inflation, high taxes and federal bureaucracy. Though not always literate — one Short billboard read "Inflation. Inflation. Enough is too much" — Short's high-priced campaign was effective enough to edge out Fraser by one percent of the vote.

No friend of labor

Short spent \$693,000 of his own money on the primary campaign against Fraser, who ran with party endorsement. The money came from Short's extensive business holdings, which include four Minneapolis hotels, two trucking concerns, a radio station and other odds and ends of Minneapolis real estate that generated \$41.5 million last year in revenue.

Spending over \$400,000 on advertising, Short identified himself as a friend of harried taxpayers and the little man, advocating a 20 percent, \$100 billion tax cut. Apparently forgotten on election night were Short's other dealings with

read, "If Bob Short wins the DFL primary on September 12, then the unborn children will win." Fraser's bill to limit logging, power boats and snowmobiles in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area on the Canadian border led to

Short beat a fashionable tattoo, identifying Fraser with inflation, high taxes, and the federal bureaucracy in the Minnesota race.

workers at his business. Early in the campaign in an interview with *Corporate Report*, a local business magazine, Short told of a freight terminal in Alabama he closed down instead of paying union wages to three female employees. "I'll bring back the company eventually," Short said, "But it's tough. And when I do reopen those terminals they will be non-union."

Fraser accused Short of playing the middle class off the poor in his campaign, promising tax cuts but giving no indication where corresponding cuts in government services would be made. Fraser warned that the country faced "self-indulgent decay" if programs for the poor and infirm were abandoned for tax cuts.

Though Fraser commanded a strong following in the liberal wing of the DFL, he alienated the anti-abortion vote as well as most of the northern half of the state during his past term. He opposed an amendment to ban abortion, which led anti-abortionists to distribute pamphlets in some Catholic churches that

hangings of his effigy in northern cities and poor northern returns on election night.

Last minute surge

While early returns came in from Minneapolis, St. Paul and the suburbs, Fraser milled through the crowd in the Holiday Inn, enjoying a two to one lead over Short. Across town in Short's Leamington Hotel a far smaller group watched Johnny Carson on one screen and sometimes begrudgingly clustered around another screen to watch Democrats at the Holiday Inn. Shortly after midnight Short mounted the podium to announce that he was going home. Speaking in the past tense, he said he thought his campaign had at least raised the important issues. Behind him portraits of Jefferson, Truman, Bobby Kennedy and Humphrey made up a minor shrine.

Muriel Humphrey, the governor's appointee to Fraser's seat, deserted Short early in the campaign in favor of Fraser. She was part of a desperate last

minute DFL campaign to bring out the vote for Fraser, making an airplane tour of the state with the candidate. DFL headquarters, a bunker-like brick building on the south side, was mortgaged for \$50,000 in the week before the primary to pay for the installation of 100 campaign phones in a downtown office building and more sample ballots.

Short's victory left DFL leaders in a bitter but familiar state of mind. Short and former Governor Karl Rolvaag ran against endorsed candidate A.M. "Sandy" Keith in the 1966 governor's race, winning the primary but losing the election.

Party leaders will fret now too about Senator Wendell Anderson's chances in the November election. Though Anderson won easily over his primary opponent John Connolly, a liberal heir to part of the 3M fortune, he is trailing Republican candidate Rudy Boschwitz in the polls. Anderson has strong labor support, but suffers from ill will left over from his self-appointment to vice-president Mondale's Senate seat in 1976. Anderson resigned as governor, appointed his lieutenant governor to take his place, and then had himself appointed to the Senate by the new governor.

Liberal members of the DFL resent Anderson's tendency to compromise on important issues, such as his vote to end federal payments for abortions. A Short-Anderson ticket is not thought to be one they will support.

Wednesday afternoon Short nursed a 3400 vote lead with 99 percent of the vote in, and told reporters that it "took a lot of time to establish that I was the better man." Two hours earlier Fraser flew back to Washington, telling another gaggle of reporters that he was unsure of his career plans.



By David Pitt

THE HATCHES REMAINED BATTENED down on both sides last week in New York's six-week-old newspaper strike. From the picket lines to the publishers' executive suites, it was still hang-tough city.

"You won't see the end of this one for at least three or four more weeks," said Danny Murphy, a paperhandler walking the picket line at the West 43rd Street offices of the *New York Times*. "If it isn't settled by then, we may not be back to work until January or February."

The prospect doesn't faze Murphy, 51, who has a wife, three kids and a mortgage. Like most members of the four unions currently on strike against the *Times*, the *Daily News* and *New York Post*, Murphy figures he can get by indefinitely on his union checks and unemployment benefits. Unemployment will soon be available for most of the 10,000 workers idled by the shutdown.

Or as Al Carnacchio, a pressman for 26 years at the *Times*, put it in a phrase that has become a familiar battle cry on the picket lines, "I can stay out forever."

Talks resume.

Even the resumption on September 11, of contract talks between the publishers and the 1,550-member pressmen's union, whose Aug. 9 walkout at all three dailies triggered the shutdown, has failed to set many hearts aflutter among the strikers.

The talks, which resumed after the two sides had stalked off Aug. 31, following what federal mediator Kenneth Moffett called a "fruitless" effort, included a new face: Theodore W. Kheel, the veteran labor negotiator credited with expediting the end of New York's last big newspaper strike, the 114-day affair of 1962-63.

But even Kheel himself, who entered the talks as an "impartial observer" retained by the Allied Printing Trades Council, which represents the 10 unions affected by the strike, saw little hope of any early breakthrough. Few of the striking workers have any doubt that they are in a high-stakes struggle.

"This kind of thing has been happening all over the country," said Carnacchio, who at 54 is at the age average for most tenured pressmen in New York. "The publishers are trying to break us. And if they nail us here, unions everywhere are through. They'll go right up the line—they'll hit the mailers, the paperhandlers, the stereotypers—everybody."

The publishers have offered the pressmen a three-year package totaling up to \$68 a week in wage increases. But wages are not the issue with the pressmen. The problem is staffing. The publishers say they can't compete with the non-union suburban dailies without major reduc-

LABOR

New York papers down, striking pressmen still out

The New York Times

229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

TO THE STAFF:

With the long weekend celebrating the glories of organized labor upon us, it seems a fitting moment to tip my hat to you wonderful men and women who are keeping the *New York Times* going.

Some of you have experienced before the dreadful loneliness of a prolonged strike. To others, this is a new and devastating experience. Picket lines never are any fun. But to be taunted and insulted by fellow employees adds a special personal dimension to an already unhappy situation.

Without a doubt, all of you are just great. Your good humor and camaraderie have made what might be an intolerable situation liveable. The way each of you has willingly chipped in to perform any task is something that I shall always remember.

Before too long, we will be out of this dreadful mess. In the meanwhile, I should like to tell you how much I admire and respect you, who indeed are the *New York Times*.

Punch

A.O.S.

Arthur "Punch" Ochs Sulzberger, president and publisher of the *TIMES*, sent this letter to non-striking employees.

tions in the workforce. The pressmen say the proposed cuts of up to 50 percent are too big—but unofficially, some concede that smaller cutbacks are inevitable.

"They can keep the salary," said Carnacchio, who makes up to \$360 a week, not including overtime. "We can't work safely with that few men on the presses."

"We're going to lose 15 to 20 percent of our men before we can go back to work," said Leon Long, 55, father of five, for 31 years a *Times* pressman, now a foreman. "And we'll have additional losses through attrition." He said an average of 55 to 60 pressmen in the union die each year. Retirements swell the total

further.

Apart from the argument that reducing the crews on the presses will lead to on-the-job accidents, Long has another objection: that the newspapers coming off the presses will look lousy.

"I think they're going to sacrifice the quality of the product for the sake of production savings," he said.

Most pressmen make no secret of their pride in turning out quality work. The possibility that they will be asked to produce shoddy goods troubles them.

Out to break the unions.

K. Rupert Murdoch, the *Post* publisher and head of the Publisher's Association,

owns 84 other newspapers, most in Great Britain and his native Australia, and is widely regarded on the picket lines as a prime purveyor of shoddy goods. One of his London papers, the *News of the World*, typifies what has become known as the "tits and bums" approach to journalism—sare headlines and cheese-cake. He is also seen as the chief architect of the publishers hard line—although the less visible *Daily News* executives, acting at the behest of the paper's Chicago-based parent company, are reported to be toeing an equally tough position.

Murdoch's heavy financial backing of one of the four interim strike papers, the *Daily Metro*—originally thought to be the product of an independent entrepreneur—has served to deepen the belief that his methods are as dirty as his motives. A persistent rumor, not without some circumstantial evidence, has it that Murdoch intends to fold the *Post*, and replace it with a non-unionized *Metro*. He denies it.

The strike situation is more complex at the *Post* than at the other two dailies. There, the pressmen have been joined not only by the paperhandlers and the machinists, but by the Newspaper Guild, which represents about 300 editorial, clerical and advertising personnel at the paper.

The Guild's situation seems particularly precarious at the *Post*, since Murdoch using offers of severance and acts of harassment, has already succeeded in reducing the union's membership to its present level by about 150. The job has proved so easy that there are now fears that by simply offering a retrogression-loaded contract to a union almost willing to sign anything, Murdoch will have succeeded in so weakening the Guild that he can forego going to the trouble of formally breaking it.

Will it turn nasty?

The pressmen and their compatriots on the picket lines—who include the delivery-truck mechanics at the *News*—aren't worried about their ability to stand up to the publishers. Their fear is the possibility that the fickle drivers' union, under pressure from union members not subject to the same generous strike benefits, may crack and agree to deliver papers produced by the publishers without the unions—a feat made possible by new automated equipment.

If that happens, the chances of the strike turning violent will become very plausible. Most pressmen on the lines last week said they seriously doubted that the drivers union would be foolhardy enough to make a separate pact with the publishers, rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. But they are worried.

Long sees violence as just what the publishers need to divide the unions and eventually break the strike.

"Every union has a few hotheads, the kind of people who damaged presses during the pressmen's strike at the *Washington Post*," Long said. "Murdoch is trying to provoke them here."

He said he was hopeful violence could be avoided, but fears the possibility that the New York pressmen's union could be broken in the same fashion as was the Washington union in 1975. That occurred when other unions, including the Newspaper Guild, cited the vandalism as their reason for refusing to honor the pressmen's picket lines.

It remains to be seen whether the present round of talks between the publishers and pressmen will get anywhere soon. Kheel indicated that his biggest task will be simply to define the issues for both sides. The business of hard bargaining is still some distance down the pike.

Moreover, once the pressmen have reached some accommodation with the publishers, contracts still must be concluded with the other striking unions, no simple task.

The publishers have failed to sign a single new contract with the Guild or any of the other unions. All the old pacts expired last March and little or no groundwork has been laid towards new ones.

"My God," said one picketing machinist, "we're not anywhere close to a new contract. They don't even want to talk with us."

David Pitt is currently freelancing in New York. He ordinarily works at the *Metro-politan* desk at the *New York Times*.

ASSASSINATIONS

Assassination probe is full of holes

By Harvey Yazijian

WASHINGTON

THE FIRST WEEK OF THE ASSASSINATION Committee's long awaited public inquiry into the murder of John Kennedy was predictably disappointing. Disappointing because the Committee clearly favors a lone gunman, Lee Oswald. Predictable because this scenario will allow the Committee to contain any plots or foul play it chooses to discover within Oswald's murky past.

The hearing's first five days addressed the actual gunplay in Dealey Plaza. Medical, ballistics, acoustical and other criminological evidence was presented. The Committee's biases were made quickly apparent by its selective choice and treatment of witnesses. Witnesses unsupportive of the lone assassin theory, such as Dr. Cyril Wecht, were critically (though properly) questioned. Those whose testimony favored this thesis were seldom asked about conflicting and contradictory evidence and testimony.

Conflicting evidence.

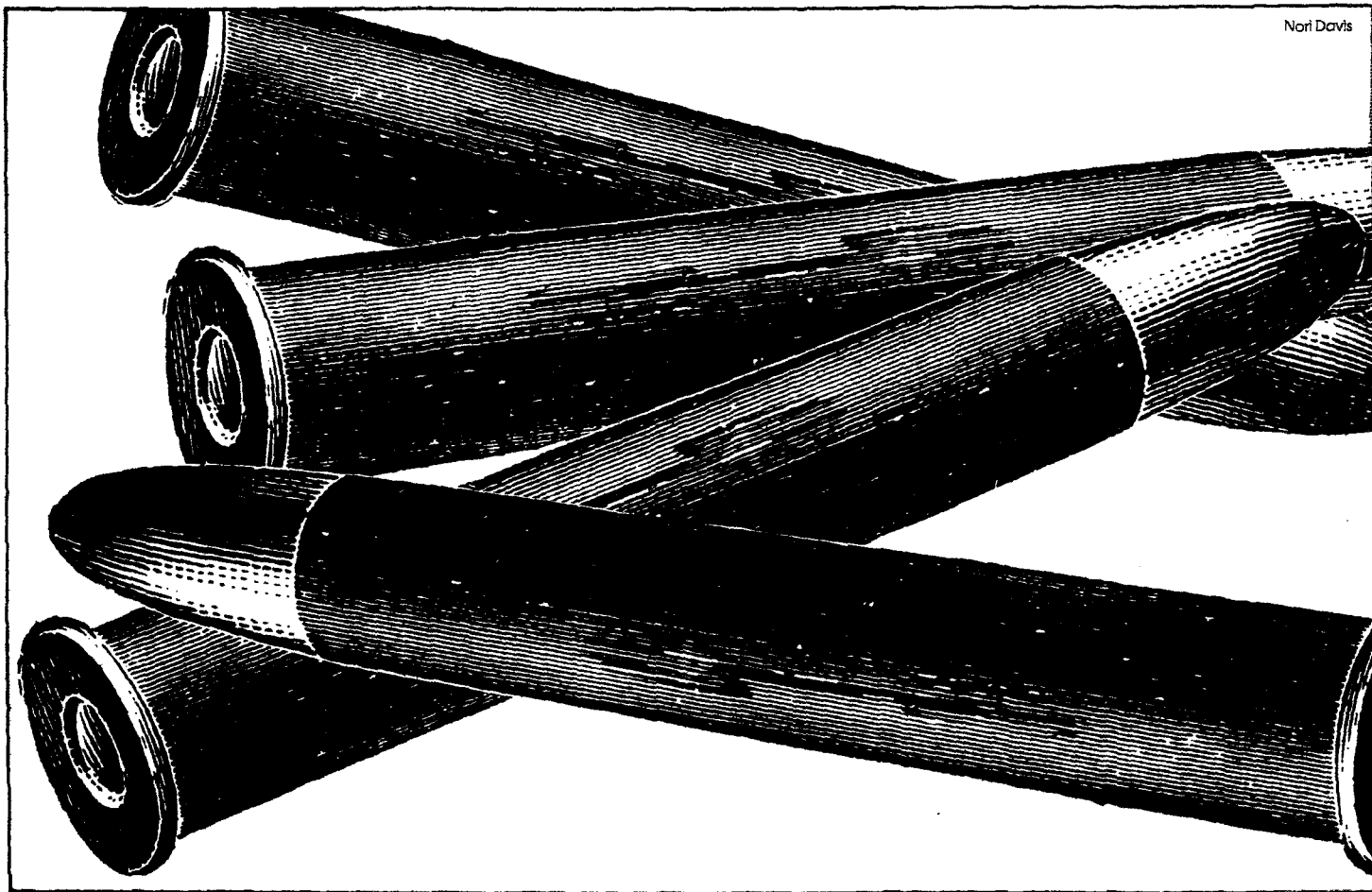
•Neither James J. Humes, who performed the autopsy on Kennedy, nor the Committee's medical panel were asked about the FBI report that states Humes probed the President's back wound with his finger and it only penetrated several inches at a sharp downward angle.

Instead, the Committee allowed its medical panel to conclude that a bullet transversed the President's body, exited his neck, and went on to strike Gov. Connally, who reacted a second and a half later.

Although G. Robert Blakey, the Committee's chief counsel, claimed the egregious decision not fully to inspect the President's wounds was Humes', Humes was never asked about the testimony of his co-autopsist, Pierre Finck. Finck stated under oath in New Orleans that a military officer present in the autopsy room ordered the doctors to forego a thorough examination of the body.

Finally, Humes told the Committee that he destroyed his original autopsy notes because they were bloodstained. He was not asked to square this statement with his testimony to the Warren Commission in 1964, when he said that he burned a draft of the autopsy report, prepared at his home on Sunday morning, Nov. 24, two days after the autopsy.

•The Committee presented a ballistics expert, admittedly untrained in the pathological sciences, who asserted that the infamous backwards motion of the President's body upon impact of the fatal bullet (as seen in the Zapruder film) was a neuro-muscular reaction. This explanation, which was first offered by the Rockefeller Commission in 1975 and rejected by CBS in 1976, was not received critically.



•Without any follow-up questioning, the ballistics experts were allowed to claim that Oswald's hypothetical first shot was "easy." This statement is misleading. Easy for an expert or layman? What of all the shots.

This opinion contradicts the conclusions of another witness who testified several days later that the first shot missed and the second passed through Kennedy and Connally. How did Oswald miss the "easy" shot? And what became of that bullet?

•The Committee's efforts to debunk the acoustical studies of a Dallas Police recording that was inadvertently made of the assassination bordered on desperation. This study indicates that *four* shots were fired, with the third originating from the grassy knoll to the front of the limousine. First, the Committee attacked the idea of the existence of the third shot, ignoring in the process that the tests suggested it came from the one other place in Dealey Plaza where photographic evidence and eye and ear witnesses place a gunman.

Second, Blakey announced that initial tests indicate the alleged murder weapon, a 6.5 MM. Mannlicher-Carcano, could be accurately fired within 1.6 seconds, the time between the first and second shots according to the tape. This claim is ludicrous. Nobody has been able accurately to fire two shots within 1.6 seconds. If this were possible, the Warren Commission would never have had to put forward the single-bullet theory to account for the second and a half difference in

Connally's and Kennedy's reactions to being shot.

Less than even-handed.

The Committee has been less than even-handed in its selection and treatment of evidence. One expert testified that the rifle scope was not mounted for a left-handed shooter, contrary to some critics' claims (Oswald was right-handed). Yet, the Committee failed to reconcile this statement with the report from the Aberdeen Testing Grounds, which examined the rifle for the Warren Commission, and asserted the scope was mounted for a left-handed person.

Another unchallenged distortion of evidence was the claim by one expert that there were no witnesses on the railroad overpass next to the grassy knoll who said a shot came from the knoll. On the contrary, at least five witnesses on the overpass believed a shot originated from the knoll; three claimed to have seen smoke there.

One of the most contrived explanations was Blakey's suggestion that Robert Kennedy may have ordered his brother's brain (which was removed from the body but never examined) destroyed so it would never reach the public's gaze. Blakey failed to mention that key microscopic slides from the President's skull were missing *with* the brain. Did R.F.K. destroy these also (they would be meaningful only to a pathologist) and why wouldn't he have destroyed the really gruesome materials such as the color photos of the President's blown-apart head?

Oswald's background.

Now that the Committee has demonstrated to its satisfaction that Oswald killed Kennedy, it is exploring Oswald's background. The first witness is Marina, his wife, who will probably emerge from the hearings relatively unscathed, although Warren Commission attorneys pondered pressing perjury charges against her. Other witnesses could be William Colby and Richard Helms, past directors of the CIA, Stansfield Turner, the current director of the CIA, James Angleton, the mysterious former head of CIA counter-intelligence, and the "umbrella man," who has apparently been located. (He was the strange character who, on a cloudless 68-degree day, held an open umbrella over his head in front of the Kennedy limousine during the assassination.)

Two possible witnesses who won't be testifying are Regis Kennedy, an FBI agent in New Orleans when Oswald was there, and Thomas Karamessines, the former director of operations for the CIA. (Victor Marchetti has claimed Karamessines was one of the CIA officials ordered by Helms to help New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw in his prosecution by District Attorney Jim Garrison for conspiring to kill President Kennedy.) Both men recently died of natural causes; Regis Kennedy died one day before Committee investigators tried to reach him. ■

Harvy Yazijian is one of the directors of the Assassination Information Bureau in Washington, D.C.

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LABOR

Striking teachers chalk up few gains

By David Moberg

TEACHERS, RETURNING TO THE negotiating table as well as the classroom this fall, have frequently found a new "sophistication" or toughness on the part of many school administrators.

As a result, many of the contracts negotiated this fall have failed to make major gains, although they have generally held the line against management attempts to imitate their counterparts in private business and municipal governments with proposals for significant "take-backs." The hard-line bargaining has contributed to an increase in the number of strikes this fall, 85 so far compared with 52 at this point last year, although teacher union representatives doubt that the final tally for the year will be greatly more than the 152 strikes during each of the past two years.

The current tax revolt certainly threatens teachers in the long run, even though a decreasing percentage of local school funding comes from property taxes. However, its impact has not been pronounced in most negotiations this fall. If gross tax cuts are approved this fall by voters, teacher representatives predict a dramatic surge in strikes next year.

Teacher contracts have averaged pay increases of only 6 percent this fall, according to preliminary estimates by the National Education Association. That is below both the rate of inflation and the average union settlement this year. Teachers, who now earn \$14,244 on the average, lost roughly \$500 in real income last year, according to the American Federation of Teachers.

School board attempts to increase class size have been the second major issue in many negotiations, including Boston, Philadelphia and Detroit. Such economy drives have brought teachers support from parents, who usually believe that smaller class size will better their children's education.

Many school boards are also asserting broader managerial prerogatives and trying to restrict union influence. "There's a hue and cry that bargaining has invaded management rights on issues such as transfer, seniority, after-school assignments or non-teaching duties," Peter Laarman, a spokesperson for the AFT says. "They're right. We think unions should have more control of the workplace."

In Philadelphia, AFT local president Frank Sullivan says, "The board's original bargaining position was to wipe out our contract, to reduce it from over 100 pages to a few pages." The union kept its contract despite the attempts by the school board "to restore their management prerogatives."

Up, up and away.

Thomas A. Shannon, executive director of the National School Boards Association, acknowledges the tendencies toward hard bargaining. "There's a developing sophistication in collective bargaining," he says. "Teacher unions think of bargaining as a one-way street—up, up, up. School boards see it as a two-way street. Teachers have had expectations of continually climbing, but it's a brand new ball game every contract, and it's not an up, up, up, giveaway world."

Shannon also believes that school boards are developing a more flexible approach to strikes. There are fewer instances this fall of teachers being jailed, although—according to Shannon—"some kids you can talk with and some kids you might have to send to the reformatory." Over 150 teachers have been sent to a jail "reformatory" in Bridgeport, Conn., and eight strike leaders were jailed at the end of August in Marion, Ind. Also, strike-breakers were hired at double the normal substitute teacher wage in New Orleans



Striking school teachers in Cleveland face massive layoffs in a district that is a financial disaster.

Teachers have developed a "foxhole mentality" since the public has urged schools to cut back.

to keep schools open. However, schools were kept closed in Seattle rather than jeopardize the desegregation plan scheduled to start this fall.

Laarman believes that many boards "think they can use strikes to their advantage" now, making up financial deficits and breaking union control of work rules. With public hostility to public worker strikes growing, according to a recent Gallup poll, teachers have developed what Laarman calls a "foxhole mentality." "They're beleaguered," he says. "They want to hold on to the strike but they don't want it used against them." They fear a situation such as that of striking Kansas City teachers last spring, who eventually signed away "in perpetuity" their right to strike in order to bring a long strike to an end.

Around the country.

Conditions varied in the major disputes, but tight money and a stiff management bargaining posture were common:

•New Orleans teachers, in the middle of their second contract, struck from Aug. 30 to Sept. 11 in order to win a 7 percent wage increase and a \$100-a-year increase in hospitalization insurance contributions from the board. The district's financial problems had been worsened by a new constitutional property tax limitation and refusal of the state to permit increased local sales tax revenue.

•At the last minute the 5,000-plus teachers, aides and nurses in the Boston AFT local rejected their leaders' recommendation of a strike and accepted the School Committee's offer of 5 percent pay increases in each of the next two years.

Teachers were still dissatisfied with the School Committee's offer to provide 20 extra teachers to reduce overcrowding, since the union argues that 193 elementary school classes have over 28 students.

Classes now can have as many as 36 kids before they're regarded as overcrowded. The union did protect its requirement for consultation before the Committee made unilateral changes in matters covered by the contract.

•Seattle teachers went on strike Sept. 5 to win a cost-of-living increase, to stop a proposed system of peer evaluation, to expand medical benefits and to institute an early retirement plan. Although the union disputes his view, the superintendent maintains that the state legislature has set limits for teacher pay that tie his hands.

•A strike was barely averted in Detroit as teachers agreed to a 6.5 percent increase in wages and benefits instead of the 9 percent plus a cost-of-living adjustment that they had sought.

•Teachers in Philadelphia delayed any wage increase until July 1979, when they will begin receiving the first of three 5 percent raises within a year, in order to win back the jobs of 1,700 teachers and 300 other workers laid off recently in a desperate economy move. All of the 2,000 will be rehired no later than next February.

The board also agreed to bring class sizes down to 33 from their current level of 37 students, but it rejected a union demand for a cost-of-living adjustment clause. The board has to pay back \$50 million borrowed to cover last year's deficit and find \$17 million more to cover a projected deficit for this year.

Secretaries and other school workers who struck Sept. 1 were joined by teachers on Sept. 6, the day before school started. But the settlement came in time to open schools as scheduled.

"One hell of a mess."

•"We're in one hell of a mess here," James O'Meara, chairman of the Cleve-

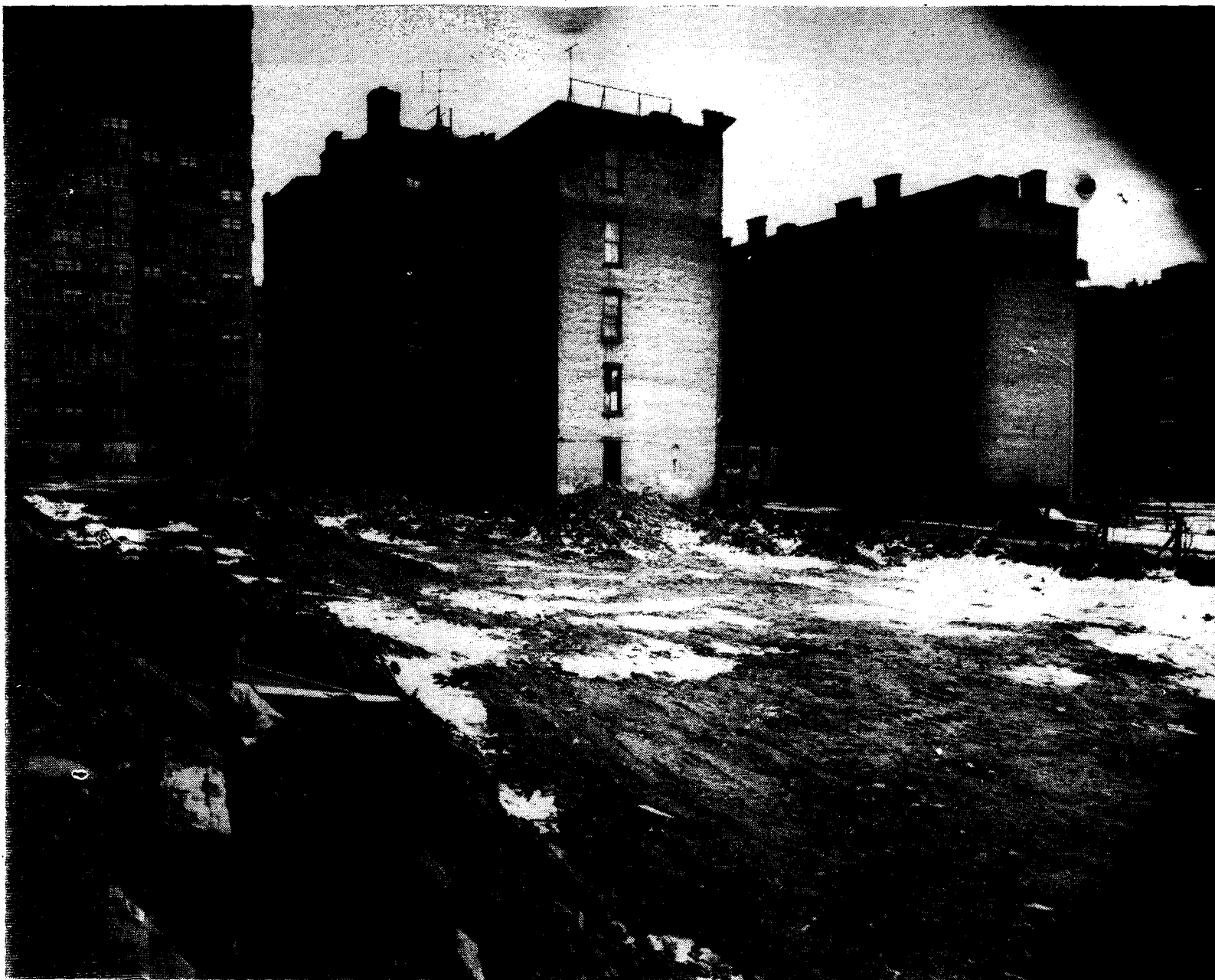
land School Employees Unity Committee and executive secretary of the teachers union, said as he summarized the financial plight of the troubled Ohio city. Since Sept. 7 the 10,000 employees represented by the unions of the Unity Committee have closed the schools while trying to win some money to make up for the cost-of-living losses incurred during the past two years, without pay raises.

The school district got into a desperate financial bind by avoiding any tax increases since 1970. Last spring, when they finally sought tax hikes, voters overwhelmingly rejected the measures, largely in protest of school desegregation busing slated to start this fall. Teachers went without pay for five weeks; there were protracted court battles involving teachers, banks and others over the limited school district funds; the state set limits for the district budget and ordered it to be fiscally sound in two years; a special \$20.7 million loan by the state was authorized to tide the schools over.

"In the meantime the board says the employees should take the cuts," O'Meara says, "and we say we aren't." The school board was rebuffed in its first effort to get an injunction, then went back to court again. The board says that it can't even make an offer to the teachers until it draws up a new budget—which will take at least two weeks—and can show where the money for salary increases will come from. One expert on Cleveland's educational finance concludes that the only way to give employees more pay is to make massive cuts in personnel—hardly likely to be well-received in a district where even non-striking administrative and supervisory personnel have expressed support for the strike.

O'Meara's assessment of the situation, that teachers should take cuts, begins to sound like an understatement.

CITIES



John Gundy Frank

Landlords leave, tenants take over

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

THE CITY OF NEW YORK IS the world's largest slumlord. A new law has empowered the city to seize property from landlords who have failed to pay taxes for over a year. In the past the city could foreclose on abandoned or delinquent buildings—so called “in rem” property—only after three years. The resulting increase in municipal ownership has been enormous. With the city's housing agencies' failure to manage this massive property transfer, tenant organizations have seized the opportunity to manage the buildings themselves.

This spring New York City owned 6,400 buildings, encompassing 65,000 dwelling units. By May, 1979, the city will hold title to over 25,000 buildings with 250,000 tenants.

Most property now coming under city ownership is placed in conventional city management programs, where city officials manage and maintain the buildings, collect rents, and prepare the buildings for eventual sale and reentry into the private sector and back onto the tax rolls. This approach has in the past been a contributing factor to real estate speculation.

Under previous city administrations, properties seized for nonpayment of taxes were auctioned off as quickly as possible. “Buildings were grabbed up by the same slumlords and speculators who let them deteriorate into tax arrears in the first place, and they ended up on the auction lists all over again,” observed Manhattan Councilmember Ruth Messinger.

The policy was halted only after the public learned that properties in and near a massive Urban renewal project site—visited by President Carter when he made his famous Bronx tour—were auctioned off for as little as \$50 and \$100, with purchasers quickly realizing 1,000 percent profits.

Responsibility is shifted.

The failure of the auctioning process, and the inability of the city's Division of Real

Property (DRP) to manage the housing that was placed in its care (it has been called a “catastrophe” by city officials), led to the transfer, Sept. 1, of residential property to the city's Department of Housing, Preservation and Development (HPD).

By the time of the transfer, the situation in DRP was getting so bad that the whole “in rem” housing program appeared on the brink of collapse under the weight

of programs that are designed to bring tenant and community groups into the management picture, with an eye towards future non-profit ownership.

Community management schemes.

Many of the programs initiated, and particularly the concepts underlying them, owe their existence to the work of the In Rem Task Force, a coalition of lawyers, architects, planners and community

groups, could handle up to 25 percent of such housing within a year.

As a result of abandonment and tax foreclosure, whole neighborhoods and segments of boroughs will come under municipal ownership.

In Loisaida, the lower east side of Manhattan, for example, it is estimated that almost 70 percent of the housing stock will be in city ownership. Foreclosures are not limited to slums. “We’ve been seeing a lot of buildings coming into city ownership that are in better condition,” St. Georges notes, “and many of them have what you would call middle income tenants.”

To facilitate this development, the influential Task Force has called for a “radically simplistic” approach. “Tenants,” the Task Force said, “should be offered a chance to manage, on a trial basis, every building taken for non-payment of taxes before the city even begins its own management services. The city can only be released from the burden of managing over 65,000 dwelling units by the development of a new sector, one that is based on various forms of non-profit and cooperative ownership, and has locally and democratically controlled planning, management and development as its cornerstone.”

How well New York City fares under this “in rem” policy will, because of the size of the problem, have considerable effect on the evolution of programs in many of the nation's older urban centers—which, like New York, face the dual problem of abandonment and middle- and lower-income housing shortages.

“The solution to the problems of neighborhoods and housing will come from the people who live in those neighborhoods and live in the housing,” St. Georges maintains. “Get opportunities and resources into the hands of people on the street, in the buildings where they live, and let them show the solutions. So far we haven’t been proven wrong. The only question is how big and how fast can programs be put into effect?”

Josh Martin is a freelance writer in New York and a regular contributor to IN THESE TIMES.

Landlords that owe the city back taxes can have their property seized.

of massive numbers of newly acquired stock. Tenants' groups were pressing for outright take over of their buildings, reacting to uncaring city management; buildings weren't being maintained; auctioning was creating a massive speculation market that deprived the city of both the taxes it was due and the housing it needed.

New city legislation which went into effect in January, called for two major changes in the city's housing program: First, it ordered the city to seize property after only one year of tax debt. Second, it called for the complete restructuring of the housing agencies.

Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo, who played a major role in stopping the auctions, pointed out that the city's shaky fiscal condition and the time needed to carry out the far-reaching legislative provisions were inimicable. “The immediate crisis is so urgent, we don't want to be diverted by reorganization,” Badillo said. “That can take years.” An alternative road was used instead.

The mandated transfer of housing from DRP to HPD Sept. 1 was more than just an agency shuffle. It represents a distinct change of policy. Koch, Badillo, Messinger, and HPD Commissioner Nathan Leventhal, agreed that housing would have to be regarded in social, rather than fiscal terms.

Leventhal has created a division of alternative management in HPD, and has instituted a series of unique pilot pro-

grams. Working closely with Councilmember Messinger, they produced a short (29 page) report that has since become the guideline for the city's “in rem” housing policy. The report recommended programs enacted or scheduled include:

- **Community Management.** Experienced community groups would manage “in rem” buildings.
- **Interim Lease.** Tenants themselves would manage buildings.
- **New York City Housing Authority Management.** This agency, which has an outstanding record in managing over 120,000 units, would take over.
- **Private Real Estate Agent's Management.** Private firms with proven records would be allowed to manage city owned property.
- **One-On-One Management.** Experienced tenant or community groups would link up with an inexperienced group, expanding the number of groups eligible to manage city owned property.

“We want to have a sound basis for comparing alternative management approaches to the central city management operation,” explains Philip St. Georges, assistant commissioner for alternative management programs in HPD. “What we want to do is compare other forms of management.”

City officials hope that the alternative management programs, which will initially operate in 5 percent of the city owned

LABOR

Reopened Youngstown steel plant could work

By David Moberg

THE CAMPBELL STEEL WORKS near Youngstown, Ohio, abruptly closed a year ago by the Lykes Corp., could be successfully re-opened under community-worker ownership if the federal government is willing to help.

That's the conclusion of the final report by the National Center for Economic Alternatives, which has studied the feasibility of reopening the mill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The report is cautious in its assumptions. It clearly indicates that the task of reopening the mill would be difficult. It also makes very clear that the federal government—in particular Attorney General Griffin Bell—has made the task far more arduous by approving a merger of Lykes and LTV Corp., owner of Jones & Laughlin Steel, without conditions that would have both facilitated the re-opening and strengthened steel industry competition.

Backers of the project, primarily the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley, may try to convince President Carter that he owes their project special help, precisely because of the damage caused by Bell's decision. Representatives of the coalition were planning to approach Carter last weekend during a scheduled political trip to Ohio. They have been working, so far without winning commitment of a firm date, to arrange a meeting with Vice President Mondale, whom they hope will become an advocate of the project.

More pressure is being brought to bear through full-page newspaper ads printed last week with the signatures of 1,500 Ohio clergy and lay leaders, a memorial service in Youngstown on the first anniversary of the shutdown (Sept. 19), and a religious conference on the crisis of the cities in Youngstown at the end of September.

It could really work.

The final report argues that even from a narrow cost-accounting viewpoint the federal government would be better off giving money to the project rather than doing nothing and absorbing the costs of unemployment. Moreover, the worker-community plan could become a "showcase" and experiment in community action to resuscitate cities wounded by corporate decisions to move factories.

Worker-community ownership not only would bring needed increases in productivity, the report says, but also maximize local control, local investment and public accountability.

Using electric furnaces and relying on the existing market in scrap metal in the Youngstown area, the report concludes that the new mill would need \$300 million in loans guaranteed by the federal government as part of a total \$525 million to acquire and modernize the plant.

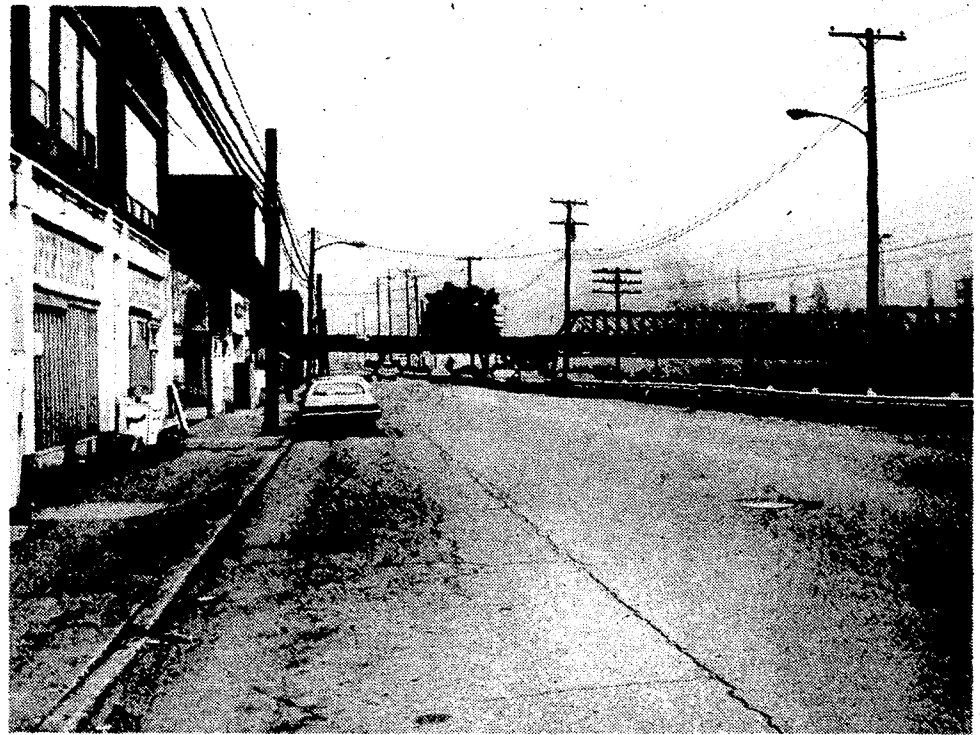
"The justification for a major demonstration project in Youngstown is both local and national," the final report states. "The justification is not the commercial and economic advantage of one community alone, but the need throughout the nation to develop new strategies to preserve jobs, increase productivity, test new technologies, and help urban communities facing economic decay."

Specifically, the report calls on Carter or Mondale to appoint a personal representative to work with the Ecumenical Coalition and a federal task force to develop the Youngstown experiment. It also asks Carter to set aside \$300 million in loan guarantee authority and to grant \$15 million immediately to purchase the mill and begin work on engineering and development of markets. Eventually the mill would probably also need commitments of federal purchases to secure its take-off.

Although there is fairly wide support

The report from the National Center for Economic Alternatives states that it would pay the government to keep the plant open rather than continue to absorb unemployment costs.

for the Youngstown project among middle levels of government officials in departments such as HUD, Carter has been mum on the project. Yet now the decision is in his hands. The Ecumenical Coalition is intent on making it politically difficult for him to say anything but "yes" to their plan.



It was a year ago Sept. 18 that the Campbell Steel Works closed in Youngstown.

Paul R. Scheff

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The FCC acted after WBAI—a listener sponsored Pacifica radio station in New York—broadcast a monologue by comedian George Carlin about seven words you can't say on TV which satirizes how people get uptight by the use of certain words.

Their mailbox clogged with one letter of complaint, the FCC ruled Pacifica to be in violation of the Federal Communications Act. In deciding that a government agency has the right to tell broadcasters what they can or cannot say on the air, they essentially trampled all over the First Amendment.

When Pacifica challenged this ruling, a U.S. Court of Appeals held that the FCC had overstepped its authority in banning "indecent language" at certain hours and that it had wrongly entered into "the forbidden realm of censorship."

Undaunted, the FCC has now taken the "Carlin Case" to the Supreme Court which will consider this critically important constitutional question: *Do all First Amendment rights traditionally enjoyed by free press also extend to radio and television?*

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IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Burning theater sparks national revolt

By Linda Heiden

AT LEAST 4,500 DEMONSTRATORS were machine-gunned to death in Tehran, Iran, Sept. 7-9 in moves by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to halt the rapidly escalating opposition to his autocratic regime.

The Shah's troubles had begun quietly enough last year when a series of small, seemingly spontaneous demonstrations broke out against the regime's slum clearance projects on the outskirts of the capital. By April, three waves of increasingly violent protests had swept across the country.

But it seemed that no one, not even the Shah himself, was prepared for the explosive demonstrations and riots that have shaken the foundations of the ruling autocracy since mid-August. Suddenly the U.S. State Department found itself issuing statements citing "the latest reports [that] indicate that the Iranian government remains in control. (Nevertheless,) the situation remains very dangerous."

SAVAK blamed for fire.

Massive demonstrations have escalated around the country on a daily basis since the Aug. 19 theater fire in Abadan, which claimed more than 400 lives.

In August, when the temperature often reaches 105, the city's working people crowd the popular air-conditioned movie houses for brief respite from the suffocating heat. The torched Rex Cinema, located in a run-down working class neighborhood, was showing a rarely screened Persian film famous for the central characters' resistance to authority. The theater doors had been locked, the walls doused with gasoline and set ablaze.

"Every man, woman and five-year-old child knows that SAVAK was responsible," said callers from Iran. (SAVAK is the Iranian secret police.)

Opposition forces suspect the brutal massacre may have been planned as a means of discrediting the growing resistance movement and as a pretext to open a full-scale military offensive against it.

Iranians from every part of the country came to participate in a massive protest demonstration in the southern port three days after the blaze. When both showcase "concessions" and threats of military intervention failed to stem the escalating protests that spread across the country in the days that followed, the regime outlawed further "unauthorized demonstrations." On Sept. 6, it declared martial law and sent troops into the streets.

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched through Tehran in defiance of the ban on protests Sept. 7. Witnesses said it was the biggest demonstration ever held in the city. Heavily armed troops were confronted with armloads of flowers and asked, "Soldier, why do you kill your Moslem brothers?"

By 5 o'clock the next morning, demonstrators were re-assembling in the streets of the city. Meanwhile, the regime had already begun secretly to arrest opposition leaders, rounding them up in their homes before daybreak. When thousands of defiant marchers reached Jaleh Square, the army's tanks and machine-gun-toting troops were waiting for them.

4,500 burial certificates.

Some accounts say that warning shots were fired into the air and that tear gas canisters were used to disperse the crowds, who shouted, "Death to the Shah," and carried banners reading, "God does not change our destiny unless we do it ourselves." Armed with bricks, bottles and stones, the front rows of the



Tehran residents go through the rubble on Sept. 9 after demonstrations against the Shah, which began with Aug. 19 theater fire.

The Shah's survival depends on his armed forces and U.S. support.

protesters never had a chance of survival as the troops fired their automatic weapons directly into the crowd.

Shocked and enraged survivors scattered throughout the city, setting fire to banks and government offices and constructing barricades to prevent tanks and personnel carriers from moving freely about the city. By mid-afternoon, two-way fire was reported at numerous sites as armed brigades took on the military might of the regime.

Witnesses say that the regime had to move trucks into the city to haul the dead and half-dead out to mass graves on the edge of town. Hospital workers sent word to sources outside the country that 360 bodies had been counted at Georgani Hospital, 1,360 at Firoozgar Hospital, and that Hospital No. 3 of the National Social Insurance Administration had received so many dead that no one had bothered to count them. Separate sources inside Tehran said that more than 4,500 burial certificates had been issued at Tehran's main public cemetery, *Behesht Zahra*.

The government claims that 58 were killed and 206 injured.

In a telephone interview broadcast by his radio station in Aachen, West Germany, a German reporter on the scene described how people in the area had carried dead and wounded into their homes so they wouldn't fall into the hands of the military. Medical teams set up impromptu clinics in back rooms to treat victims of the attack.

Twelve hours after the fighting began, shooting could still be heard eight miles from the scene of the street battles. Smoke belched from burning buildings in the southern and eastern sections of the city.

Scattered reports from news wires and European press accounts indicate that the fighting continued throughout the week-end and into the week. At press time, a general strike was being honored by most shops in Tehran and similar action had been called for in other towns.

The regime has already tried to blame the escalating protests on "international communist conspirators and subversive organizations" and on "fanatical Islamic traditionalists" opposed to the Shah's supposed "democratic reforms."

"It was quite amazing for us to see...it was so unexpected," the suddenly humble Shah told Barbara Walters in an interview Sept. 11. "Surely there are deficiencies, surely mistakes have been committed but that could be remedied easily. This is not a historical problem."

But contrary to most Western news reports, which treat the regime's statement as fact, the opposition movement breaks down into two primary groups: those who will settle for limited reforms that allow them to share in the profits of the current system and those who demand the overthrow of the current regime.

The first group, consisting of elements of Iran's new professional class—intellectuals and independent capitalists—has benefitted from the Shah's emphasis on economic development, but have been left out of political decision-making. They were the first to make international headlines with their calls for political reforms—general elections, an easing of censorship codes, and freedom to organize independent political parties. Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, leader of the conservative Shiite Moslems, has joined them in their demands for observance of constitutional law, with or without the Shah.

A diverse mixture of Marxists, militant moslems, impoverished workers and small shop keepers have been the main force behind the street protests. They represent the vast majority of Iranians for whom the regime's push for modernization has brought only further drops in the standard of living. The Shah's "land reform" deprived the poorest peasants of the few rights they had in the countryside, forcing them into the cities to fight among themselves for the few unskilled jobs available. Women were "freed from the veil" to take up factory positions that pay women

half the wage of their male counterparts or to hit the streets as prostitutes. It has been this program of modernization, together with the regime's widespread corruption and extreme brutality, that brought praises from Jimmy Carter.

Carter's support.

In an attempt both to broaden its own shaky domestic base and to counter growing international criticism of its methods, the regime announced limited political reforms last month. But one tiny hole in the wall of repression drew the pressure of the gathering opposition, which pushed through the opening until the wall itself began to crack.

Whether the regime can overcome the continuing crisis depends in the last resort on the Shah's American-equipped armed forces. But just how much the regime's military can in fact be counted on is open to question. One of the principal causes for alarm among State Department officials has been the uncertainty of just how many troops could be counted on to fire on their own compatriots. The lower ranks of the Iranian forces are filled largely by conscripts who have little interest in supporting the Pahlavi dynasty. The London *Times* published reports of soldiers committing suicide rather than opening fire on the crowds, and sources inside the country say there were numerous small-scale mutinies and refusals to obey orders during the weeks.

Exactly what the U.S. would do in the event of a *coup d'etat* or full-scale revolution in Iran is not clear. The Iranian armed forces have been provided with much of the most sophisticated armaments available, accompanied by some 40,000 U.S. military "advisors"—most of whom are Vietnam war veterans "indirectly involved" in protecting Middle Eastern oil supplies. All the major Middle Eastern oil fields lie within a 150-mile radius of the Iranian borders.

Jimmy Carter's pointed expression of continued support for the regime, communicated by phone from Camp David at the height of the protests Sept. 8, indicates that the U.S. might stand by the Shah in any eventuality.

Linda Heiden is a Chicago-based freelance journalist.

VATICAN

Right-wing Cardinal picked new Pope



Church officials lock Cardinals in the papal conclave.

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

IF THE "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" between Italian Communists and Catholics seems in need of divine aid after all its recent trials and tribulations, that is not what it got out of the conclave of Cardinals that chose the new Pope. Cardinal Albino Luciani, Bishop of Venice, who took the name Pope John Paul I, is one of Italy's most conservative prelates and an uncompromising anti-Communist.

The Italian left, Catholics included, would probably have been happiest with a non-Italian Pope, as less likely to interfere in Italian domestic politics. But that was too much to expect. Not since Pope Adrian VI came down from Utrecht in 1522 to scandalize Rome with his northern reformist virtue, before dying mysteriously only a year later, have the Princes of the Church made the mistake of selecting a non-Italian.

Of the 110 Cardinals who elected the Pope, 27 were Italian. Besides, most of the "Third World" Cardinals, whose numbers have increased in recent years (at the conclave there were 19 from Latin America, 12 from Africa and 13 from Asia and the South Pacific), apparently preferred what Hyacinthe Thiandoum of Dakar called the "internationalist charisma" of the Italians over the unfamiliar national idiosyncracies of other prelates.

The choice of Luciani was surprising—not only because his name did not figure among the pre-conclave front-runners, but also because, for a compromise candidate between the church's "right" and "left" wings, he seems awfully far to the right.

By taking the names of his two predecessors, John Paul I affirmed his commitment to consolidate the reforms of Vatican Council II—but also, perhaps, not to go an inch farther. By all accounts, his theological, social and political views are simple and old-fashioned.

Abortion opponent.

Before the 1976 Italian elections, Luciani wrote an article for the *Gazzettino* (close to conservative Christian Democratic politician Amintore Fanfani) telling Catholics that they must not vote for left-wing parties. He suspended a priest in his diocese for running as a Proletarian Democracy candidate. no bishop was more zealous in campaigning for a "yes" vote in the referendum to repeal the law legalizing divorce in Italy. He ordered 44 parish priests to stop their petitioning to get the church to let Catholics "vote their conscience" on the issue.

A pamphlet written by Luciani describing the terrible harm done to families by divorce was distributed among school children in his diocese. He dissolved organizations, such as a Catholic student group, that took a different position. On this and other issues, he was often in

conflict with the Worker Priests movement, which he disapproved of.

It goes without saying that he is one of the most intransigent opponents of legalized abortion. He sharply criticized the Venice Biennale international art exhibit for giving space to a women's collective that presented works on abortion and other immoral and sacrilegious themes.

A headline in *La Repubblica* called Luciani "a conservative bishop voted for by progressives." But why?

Cardinal Benelli's man.

Vatican observers conclude that Luciani was selected and successfully "sold" to the conclave by Cardinal Giovanni Benelli, Archbishop of Florence. Before recently being sent to Florence, Benelli was assistant to the Pope's non-Italian Secretary of State, Frenchman Jean Villot, and considered Paul VI's real right-hand man. He is also an experienced Vatican diplomat, who has been posted in such far-flung capitals as Brasilia, Dublin and Dakar.

Benelli's intimate knowledge of the workings of the church and his international contacts were not enough to overcome two serious obstacles to his own elevation to the papacy: his relative youth (58), and his right-wing reputation. But he was particularly well-placed to influence the election of an older (66) and little-known candidate. In Luciani, Benelli has a man who shares his political outlook and whose inexperience in Vatican mat-

ters may move him to rely heavily on Benelli's counsels.

La Repubblica suggested that two considerations moved the more progressive and Third World Cardinals to accept Luciani: the promise of a more collegiate governing of the church, and his reputation of concern for the poor and for the Third World.

The one fact about the new Pope that the surprised world press immediately picked up on was his genuine working class background. The circumstance that his father was an immigrant worker and a socialist created a favorable impression of his capacity to understand social problems. Throughout his priesthood, Luciani has lived modestly and stressed that the poor are "the church's real treasure."

Rival to Communists.

Luciani's attitude towards the poor seems that of a certain traditional Christian charity that sees poverty as too great a blessing to be abolished. His motto, humility, suggests an admiration for humble acceptance of poverty. At any rate, he criticized labor struggles in Venice.

Luciani's published writings show an attention to the poor marked by uncompromising ideological rivalry, rather than any search for convergence, with the Marxist-inspired political forces that champion the disinherited in Italy, as in other Latin countries. Unlike the Catholic left, which agrees with Marxism to the extent of attributing many of the ills of modern society to social and economic injustices that could and should be corrected, Luciani in his writings has repeatedly pointed to a single cause of all evil: abandonment of the true faith.

An example: "You ask how terrorism is possible? Put aside the Gospel and you necessarily go back to *homo homini lupus* (man is a wolf to other men)."

La Repubblica commented that Luciani "does not approach the question of terrorism in its causes, as a complex phenomenon involving all of society and implying the responsibility of everyone, including Catholics and the church. He sees violence as an external fact that essentially concerns others."

The newspaper stressed that the new Pope's attitude is "completely different" from that of John XXIII in that "Luciani puts himself outside the world around him and looks at it with instinctive and invincible detachment."

Isidoro Rosolen, the priest suspended by Luciani for his leftist candidacy, said he feared that John Paul I "conceives of faith as something profoundly individualistic and of the social order as something fixed in advance rather than to be built day by day."

The belief that a social order is immutable leads naturally to the defense of its privileges. Catholics struggling for social justice seem to have a new Pope with little propensity for understanding or sympathizing with what they perceive and do.

THE INSIDE STORY

Continued from page 2.

of the West or modernize in its own national fashion has been the central debate of Chinese intellectual and political circles for a century.

It would be foolhardy to predict the effect of the massive infusion of foreign influence now already underway, but there is no question that it touches upon one of the most sensitive nerves of the

Chinese cultural psyche. At the same time, the rest of the world will have its own share of adjusting to do, for China's active emergence onto the world scene has passed from the tentative possibility of the last few years to a *fait accompli*.

For their part, the U.S. and Japan have made the decision to assist in the creation of a new center of world power in Peking. The Carter Administration clearly stands behind Tokyo's historic choice to seek its economic and political future in alliance with Peking rather than in expanding ties with the Soviet Union. Carefully guarded discussions between American, Chinese and Japanese officials are no doubt underway to coordinate future military policies and the armament buildup of the three states. Winners of the sharp and protracted debate among strategic policy planners in Washington over the risk involved in uti-

lizing Chinese power against the Russians are jubilant that Carter has decided to play the China card against Moscow.

However, at a time when the Soviet Union and the U.S. have arrived at what Washington admits is "essential parity" in nuclear weapons strength, a certain nervousness exists in the American capital as the world awaits the Russian response to the creation of a coalition of hostile states dedicated to the encirclement of the Soviet Union. The nervousness is increased by the persistent pronouncements from Peking that "a third world war is inevitable."

In Washington, a number of voices are now urging caution because it is not yet clear to what extent the new Chinese nationalism may be utilizing the ancient Middle Kingdom strategem of encouraging the barbarians to fight the barbarians. Nor is it certain that the present

Peking regime has achieved the degree of stability that can long survive under the conditions of current fratricidal and factional Chinese politics. Some advocates of a more cautious approach to U.S. strategic planning are advocating that Washington must actively counter the Chinese axiom that "a third world war is inevitable," lest it become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

David Milton and Nancy Dall Milton taught at the Peking First Foreign Languages Institute from 1964-1969. They are co-authors of *The Wind Will Not Subside: Years in Revolutionary China, 1964-1969*. David Milton is presently a visiting assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oregon. Nancy Milton teaches English in the San Francisco Community College District. A version of this article originally appeared in the *Stockholm, Sweden, newspaper Expression*.

DISARMAMENT

Fettered and feted on Red Square

By Patrick Lacefield

I'M NOT OUT TO SAVE THE WORLD," explained Bernie, a middle-aged insurance salesman bound for Kiev to visit relatives and a fellow passenger on Aeroflot flight 361 from New York to Moscow. "Let me give you some advice—don't get involved in anything political while you're in the Soviet Union. You'll only stick your foot in it."

The fact of the matter was that I and my six colleagues were bound for Moscow for an explicitly political reason: to take our disarmament protest to Red Square and the Soviet government.

The idea sprang, not quite fully grown, from the head of Scott Herrick, a member of the War Resisters League, a secular pacifist organization of 10,000 members founded in 1923. Scott was pained by the quantum leap in the arms race and suggested that the WRL drive home the messages of unilateral initiatives toward disarmament by mounting simultaneous demonstrations in Red Square and at the White House in Washington, D.C.

Telling it to the Russians.

American pacifists have "told it to the Russians" on a number of occasions both in Moscow (with the 1961 600-mile peace walk and the 1968 WRL protests against the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and at the Soviet embassy and consulates in this country. No doubt such a project as this might quiet our critics on the right, but we had no intention of doing this.

The leaflet prepared for distribution in Red Square said it well: "We realize that as Americans our main emphasis must be on the United States, which initiated the nuclear arms race and is the only nation ever to unleash nuclear weaponry on fellow human beings." Yes, the United States has a 2:1 advantage in numbers of warheads, a five-year lead in most weapons research and development, and is preparing to deploy such new weapons systems as the cruise missile, Trident submarine, and possibly the M-X missile and neutron bomb.

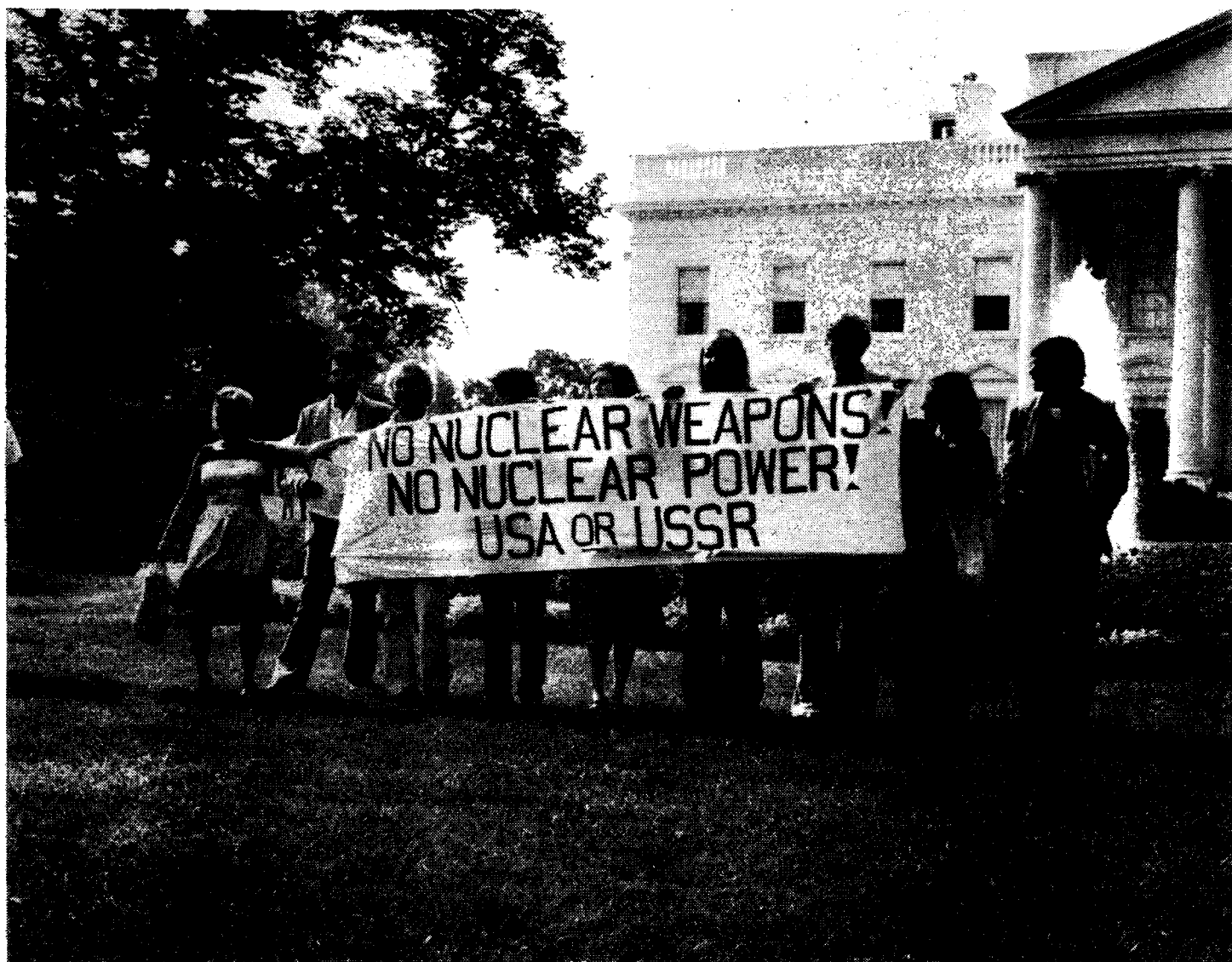
Why then did we feel a need to take our disarmament message to the Soviets? We did so because the arms race has escalated to the point where assessing the blame ceases to be a useful exercise. In their quest for parity with the U.S., the Soviet Union has accepted the American ground rules that have brought the globe perilously close to the precipice of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union has eschewed any bold disarmament initiatives and opted instead, like the U.S., to place its faith in SALT and the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks, bilateral efforts that serve to institutionalize the arms race. Along with the U.S., the Soviet Union stonewalled Third World demands for substantial disarmament initiatives at the recently-concluded UN Special Session on Disarmament.

Expulsion predicted.

The first hurdle we faced upon landing in Moscow was customs. Fortunately for us, the Soviet customs inspectors seemed to care much less about what a group of American tourists might be carrying into the country than about the possible contraband that returning Soviet citizens might be smuggling in. So our banner and Russian language leaflets went undiscovered. Met by our intourist guide, Natasha, a pleasant, dark-haired Muscovite, we were whisked into a bus and taken to our lodgings at the Hotel National, built in 1902 and showing the ornate character of a Russia long since past.

When we contacted foreign correspondents about our plan, they thought that we would be detained for some time. One thought we might be held in exchange for two Russian UN employees being held for espionage in New York, another pointed out the tension surrounding the Sept. 5



While seven disarmament protestors were demonstrating in Moscow, 11 other pacifists were demonstrating in Washington, D.C. The 11 were arrested and detained for over 30 hours.

U.S. anti-nuke protestors got a disarming response from Russian officials to their Moscow protest: a visit with the Soviet Peace Committee.

trial of American businessman Francis Crawford on currency violations, while still another predicted a quick expulsion.

As the Kremlin tower clock sounded the hour of five on Monday, Sept. 4, I stood in front of the GUM department store off Red Square with David McReynolds and Craig Simpson, waiting for the four others and feeling for all the world as conspicuous as hell. The sky was dark and overcast and a slight drizzle began to fall on the red cobblestone bricks of the Square. Nearly a dozen journalists, including at least two television cameras, had gathered in the center of the Square, a much better turnout that we had expected and no doubt responsible for what seemed to be heavier than usual security in the Square.

Seized by the militia.

At three minutes past five, the rest of the group arrived and Steve Sumerford slipped me some leaflets which I concealed in a copy of the American Communist party's *Daily World*. We stepped into the Square.

At a given signal, Jerry Coffin whipped the banner out of his carrying bag and Norman Becker, David and Scott Herrick stretched it out as Craig, Steve Sumerford and I began to distribute leaflets. Immediately a clamor arose as militia, plainclothes detectives, and KGB agents converged on the banner, slashing it in two with a knife and trying to yank it away from the four holding it. Soviet police nabbed Steve before he could toss his leaflets into the air and grabbed Craig who was leafletting the crowd on hand to watch the changing of the guard at Lenin's tomb.

When I saw the banner being ripped to shreds after only 20 seconds, I threw my leaflets high into the air where a gust of wind caught them and blew them across the Square with Soviet police in pursuit. At once I was seized by four young militiamen in light green uniforms. One arm

quite painfully twisted behind my back, I was shoved 20 yards into a police car. Steve was thrown in on top of me as was a CBS News cameraman, who was yelling "help" and "correspondent, correspondent" to no avail.

The car then shot across Red Square and down an alley to police headquarters. At the front desk, we ante-ed up our passports and sat waiting on an old church pew in a small detention room. Later Jerry and Craig were brought in along with reporters from the ABC News and the *Chicago Tribune* and six British tourists (allegedly British Communist party members), who had been swept up after picking up a leaflet. Jerry and I chatted in the doorway with the CBS News cameraman who overheard the police commenting that our leaflet "says some good things."

Wining and dining.

Then, after less than an hour in custody, we were handed our passports and shown the door. Somewhere in the Soviet chain of command, a decision had been made not to come down hard on us. Indeed, we were soon to discover, we would even be allowed to continue our tour. Surprised at this, the one contingency we had not planned for, we returned to the hotel to join our compatriots who had not been arrested. That evening, while in Washington our 11 comrades were still in jail, we wine and dined at Arbot Restaurant, one of Moscow's finest, all the while reflecting on the irony of the situation.

The next morning, presumably as a result of our action, the Soviet Peace Committee requested a meeting with us. The Peace Committee offices, just off Engels Square, are cloaked in exquisite draperies and bathed in marble. For nearly three hours, our group held discussions on disarmament with a top-level delegation that included Michael Kotov, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee; Vikenty Matzen, a top political writer

for the party newspaper *Izvestia*; and Alexander Dazydov, director of the U.S.-Canada Institute and a leading Soviet disarmament expert.

For their part, the Soviets sought to convince us of the Russian people's yearning for peace and of the efficacy of Soviet disarmament proposals. Of the first we had no doubt, realizing that the devastation and death wrought by World War II had so sensitized the Russian people to war that today they treasure peace almost as something material.

Imperialism understands strength.

But in response to the Soviet support of SALT, we suggested that the Soviet Union halt all nuclear testing and declare that it had reached parity with the U.S. and was halting all production of nuclear weapons. Our proposals touched off a serious exchange of views during which the Soviets aired their anxieties about the possibility of a U.S.-China-Japan alliance directed against them.

Like the American government, the Soviets emphasized the need to negotiate from strength, not weakness. "The only thing that imperialism will understand is strength," said Dazydov, admitting quite frankly that the Soviet Union is laying plans to increase military expenditures should SALT fail. "I respect your publication," Dazydov stated firmly, pointing at me and referring to WIN, "but you are not the equal of the *New York Times*. We respect your movement. You may be in the most difficult situation in the world because of the strengthening of right forces at present."

We stated our view that Soviet military strength, far from overcoming those right forces, fuels the fires of those who proclaim a "Soviet threat" and set back the American disarmament movement. We emphasized that the strength required for reversing the arms race would have to come from a mass American disarmament movement and that modest unilateral moves such as we suggested would bolster that movement and the cause of disarmament as well.

Patrick Lacefield was an organizer of the Sept. 4 Moscow-Washington demonstrations and is a member of the staff of WIN Magazine.

Art in China after Mao

Photos & Text by Leo Tanenbaum

At a major art exhibit in Shanghai's only art gallery 200 pieces representing traditional painting and the more popular woodcut prints provided some clues on the new direction the arts are taking under the present leadership.

This show, the first of its kind since the Cultural Revolution, had been selected by the Association of Fine Art Workers, members of the Printing Press and several bureaus relating to the arts.

Our group, including graphic designers and painters, were impressed with the wide range of styles, themes and general

quality of the show. We saw numerous examples of superb technique, many apparent efforts to wed traditional forms with current content, some more successful than others.

In a discussion with Mr. Shen Chi Liang, the gallery director, we learned that during the Cultural Revolution many of the full-time painters and masters had been sent into factories and communes to "learn from the people." Greatest emphasis was placed on encouragement of part-time artists. In some cases where less developed artists showed skill and poten-



Traditional crafts are taught to young artisans to preserve ancient skills.



National heroes like Chou En-lai are favored subjects.

Modern projects are rendered in traditional techniques.



The rugged Chinese landscape has inspired artists for thousands of years.



al they were given support and time to
rk at the site of their jobs. (Witness
e hundreds of untutored painters of
en Province.)

One result was that shows of profes-
nal painters stopped and the Shanghai
"ery was closed. The director pointed
t that some themes were actually for-
dden. Paintings of landscapes, birds
id flowers were considered decadent
id frivolous and of no value to the rev-
ution. This all ended as recently as
erch of this year with the great shift in
rection dramatized throughout China

as "The smashing of the gang of four"
and the official conclusion of the first
cultural revolution.

As we entered China a very important
meeting took place in Peking. Chinese
literary and art workers gathered for the
first time in more than ten years. Between
May 27 and June 5, 300 representatives
including writers, artists, musicians, the-
atrical, film, choreographers and photo-
graphers met and announced the resump-
tion of activities of the All-China Fede-
ration of Literary and Art Circles, which
had been suspended for 12 years. ■



Colorful minorities are frequently represented.



ids, flowers and landscapes are once again acceptable subject matter for China's painters.



Tractor caravans seem poorly executed in this traditional painting.

Art dominates all China from mouth-storied billboards to postage stamps.

Propaganda teams post colorful posters projecting goals for the year 2000.



IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

It's a bourgeois Congress— Surprise!

The first financial disclosure reports were filed last spring by all U.S. senators and representatives under the ethics codes adopted by Congress in 1977. The codes' liberal disclosure rules, as the *Congressional Quarterly* (Sept. 2) notes, "can be used as much to disguise as to disclose," and "at least 24 senators and 128 representatives filed...forms containing incomplete, misleading or useless information."

Nevertheless, the disclosure reports reveal enough to give us an accurate profile of the nation's supreme law-making body. Far from being representative of the people as a whole, in social composition the Congress is bourgeois to the core. With few exceptions, senators and representatives belong to that minority of Americans whose salary/income is over \$50,000 and who own income-yielding property—real estate, farms and ranches, oil and gas leases, corporate stocks and bonds.

The financial disclosures reveal conflict of interest on every hand. How can we expect decent public housing legislation from a Congress in which 45 senators and 150 representatives make a good part of their income (beyond their \$57,500 salaries) from real estate investments, the value of which would be undercut by a comprehensive public housing program? Or a fair hearing for public banking, when 36 senators and 107 representatives hold stock in private banks and other private

financial institutions? Or legislation fairly taxing the big corporations, or restraining their monopolistic power and profits, when so many senators and representatives own stock in them? Or reduction of

sarily the more basic conflict involved, one that is not avoided (and perhaps intensified) by resort to blind trusts, namely, that a Congress whose members' personal fortunes are so closely tied to the private

alone for proposals for socialist alternatives to capitalist property and investment norms.

President Coolidge once said, "The business of America is business," succinctly acknowledging the capitalist domination of American society. It is but the corollary of this, for which the disclosure reports provide ample empirical evidence, that as Thorstein Veblen pointed out, the business of American politics is the care and protection of American business. But business politics is not the same as a politics that provides for the general welfare. That is the basic conflict revealed in the disclosure reports, and it will not go away short of a fundamental change in the social composition of Congress.

It should also come as no surprise that this Congress refuses to pass legislation for public financing of Congressional election campaigns, which might make it possible for working class Americans to run successfully against the present incumbents.

It's a long time since we last heard the song Huddly "Leadbelly" Ledbetter wrote about Washington, D.C., "Bourgeois Blues (It's a Bourgeois Town)." the Imperial City is now more a proletarian town, its poverty surrounding enclaves of affluence and the seats of power on the Hill, in the White House and federal buildings. But it is still a bourgeois Congress. That yet remains to be changed. ■

"Home of the brave, land of the free, doan wanna be mistreated by no bourgeoisie..." — Leadbelly

military spending when so many of the lawmakers own stock in the corporations that are the major defense contractors?

It should come as no surprise, for example, that Sen. Russell B. Long (D-LA), chair of the Senate Finance Committee that voted "generous financial incentives for oil and gas production" (CQ, Sept. 2), owns \$1.1 million in oil and gas leases. Four other Committee members also have oil and gas holdings—Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), over \$2 million worth, John C. Danforth (R-MO), the Ralston-Purina heir, at least \$175,000, Harry F. Byrd (Ind.-VA), at least \$50,000, and Floyd K. Haskell (D-CO), at least \$12,000.

Conflicts of interest of this sort are legion in Congress. They are bi-partisan. They represent the obvious but not neces-

sarily the more basic conflict involved, one that is not avoided (and perhaps intensified) by resort to blind trusts, namely, that a Congress whose members' personal fortunes are so closely tied to the private profit system cannot be expected to put the general welfare above the profitability of the private enterprise system. Self-interest, moreover, goes to rationalize and is in turn reinforced by a pro-capitalist outlook in general. All the more so in a society that makes self-interest a cardinal virtue. As Rep. Stephen L. Neal (D-NC) candidly conceded, his background as a businessman "has influenced my attitude, my view of the world and of my place in it. Certainly, it influences my voting on fiscal matters."

In a Congress with such a narrow social composition, there can be no objective consideration of proposals in the areas of health, housing, energy, inflation, taxation, employment, and so on, that might clash with private interests, let

Ford's Pinto: A case for capital punishment

There's the story about the high school teacher who asked the class whether they believed in capital punishment. One student replied, "Yes, I believe all capitalists should be punished."

Even if you believe that only some capitalists should be punished, the problem is, capitalists today come in corporate form with their liability limited.

How do you punish a corporation that produces lethal goods, or poisons the environment, and thereby injures or kills people? How do you jail a corporation? How do you make a corporation pay a fine or damages, if it can write it off as a business expense or pass it along to its customers in its prices?

This is no idle question. Last week a grand jury of Elkhart County, Indiana (not known to be Nader country), indicted the Ford Motor Company on charges of reckless homicide and criminal recklessness for poor design and corporate negligence in the construction of the 1973 Pinto model automobile. The Pinto's defect led to the deaths of three teen-age girls in an explosion after their car was struck from behind by another vehicle. The grand jury charged Ford with knowing the fuel tanks, located in the rear of the cars, were unsafe. It charged that in failing to perform its legal duty of warning the general public, Ford showed "reckless disregard for the safety" of auto drivers and riders. It was, in short, more profitable to make the Pintos with an unsafe design.

A National Highway Traffic Safety Administration study reveals that at least 59 persons died in fires and explosions after Pinto crashes. By making its findings public, the Safety Administration forced Ford to fix the Pintos. It is one of those horrid regulatory agencies that business is always griping about, and that costs the taxpayers money in trying to save their lives.

Ford admits no guilt—for the record. But last June it did recall 1.5 million Pintos and Mercury Bobcats for fuel tank



RALPH, I DIDN'T KNOW YOU CARED... A BRAND NEW PINTO AND WITH FIRESTONE 500'S..

modifications. It has settled a half dozen suits relating to Pinto accidents out of court, three for over \$1 million each. A California jury last February awarded a man burned in a Pinto crash \$128 million—reduced by the court to \$6.3 million.

Do the costs of the repairs made necessary by Ford's profit-motivated negligence come out of the pockets of the corporation's officers or directors? Or the California damages, or the out-of-court settlements, or the possible damages in the Indiana case? No. The consumers and taxpayers will pay for Ford's crime, and the executives will go on holding their jobs

and collecting their fat salaries and expense accounts.

Will any of them go to jail? Not likely. Even if one or two do some time, the corporation and its ways will still be in business. The same kind of executives will still be on the streets and in the board rooms.

Under the law of capitalist property after all, the Ford executives have the "legal duty" to protect the stockholders' (including their own) profits, if need be at the expense of the duty to guarantee people's safety. When these two duties collide, the duty to profit will not be the one to go up in flames.

In a case like this, we're for capital punishment. But how do you punish capital in a case like this? The enlightened approach to crime is to seek its prevention. Just as we recognize that poverty causes certain kinds of crime, so does profit-getting. Only the ultimate penalty can prevent capital crimes of this sort: liquidate the profit-motive. Put service, utility, cheapness and safety in the driver's seat.

That little change in the penal code might take a revolution, but it would go a long way toward restoring respect for the law—not to mention making the streets and roads somewhat safer. ■

Manning Marable

Conversations with Blumenthal: Intelligence without vision



W. Michael Blumenthal, the Secretary of the Treasury, recently spoke at a seminar at the Aspen Institute in Aspen, Colorado, on contemporary politics and society. Participants in the seminar came from the United States, Latin America, Saudi Arabia and Europe.

In two public addresses and in private conversations at Aspen, Blumenthal expressed himself on inflation, unemployment and a range of questions that particularly affect black people. Blumenthal openly addressed many issues that other members of the Carter administration have deliberately ducked or ignored.

On the general status of the economy: Blumenthal believes that, on balance, "the economy is going pretty well. This is the fifth year for recovery since 1973." Unemployment is "okay," Blumenthal insisted. The unemployment rate for "heads of households is down to two percent. We're almost at the point of frictional unemployment. If it went down to 5 percent, we could have real labor shortages."

"Housing starts have been over two million units per year for three years. The stock market is doing pretty well now. There is [also] a remarkable degree of agreement between ourselves and other Western countries with what needs to be done in the world economy."

On the recent tax reduction passed by the House of Representatives: "Capital formation needs to be accelerated. Investment in fixed plant and equipment have lagged. Uncertainty is much greater

than what [American] businessmen have been accustomed to. Our inflation rate, the loss in GNP in world percentage, the lack of belief in the federal government's ability and lower research and development expenditures" by businesses have contributed to a tax revolt and an uneasy political climate.

On inflation: In the early 1960s, inflation ran between 2 and 3 percent per year. During the Nixon administration, inflation jumped above 5 and 6 percent. "Last year inflation was 6 to 6.5 percent; this year it will be 7 to 7.5 percent. Bad weather and the coal strike did not help during the first quarter of this year."

"Businessmen say that government should cut spending" to reduce inflation; "unions say government and industry" should make the necessary cuts. "Really, nobody is willing to make any sacrifices. Actually, nobody really knows what [else] to do about inflation."

On environmental controls: Blumenthal explained that one reason that the U.S. has lost its competitive edge within world trade was due to "non-productive" regulations and restrictions. "We spend up to 20 percent of our available capital for non-productive purposes. They do eat into productivity: environmental regulations, safety regulations, etc. Each of these special interest groups can stymie government actions."

On the economic dilemma of the small businessman: Blumenthal did not believe "that there's a special problem with small-

er businesses" than the economic hassles of the large corporations. Carter's original tax package to Congress, the Secretary claimed, would have provided adequate assistance to small entrepreneurs. "Cutting taxes at the bottom of the corporate scale" and "simplifying tax returns" would help. "The amount of small business failures hasn't increased." However, Blumenthal did not review the ongoing problems of black businessmen, nor did he define what an "acceptable" rate of failure for small businesses was.

The reasons for high black unemployment: Blumenthal stated that black unemployment was only at 11.2 percent, and that black unemployment figures for teenagers and young adults was 28 percent. "The total number of unemployed among blacks is six million. The estimated number of illegal aliens is nine million—most of them are working. That indicates," Blumenthal declared, "that the problem is not one of unemployed opportunity. It is...a lack of motivation. The reasons [for black unemployment] are so complex that a series of efforts has not led us to a solution of it."

I disagreed with Blumenthal. You cannot blame a black man for not taking a job at minimum wage when the very logic of his conditions worked against it. When stealing is more profitable than working on a garbage truck, people will steal; when the corrupt welfare system encourages folks to lie and cheat the bureaucracy, they'll cheat if it means survival. When

big corporations move their offices and jobs away from central cities and our over-burdened school systems no longer reinforce the work ethic, what more can we expect?

Blumenthal insisted that the Carter administration is tackling the problem through its CETA program. "It is probably the greatest human sociological problem in this country. You [still] need a great deal of research on this. But even the application of large resources [during the Great Society programs] did not solve the basic problem."

The Secretary of the Treasury was thoughtful and considerate, but on the whole I found his remarks shortsighted and unconvincing. Blumenthal blames the problems of excessive government on the very bureaucracy he heads and directs. He accepts 5 percent overall unemployment as "acceptable," despite the fact that under such conditions black unemployment would remain at least 10 percent. He has no solution for the worsening urban crisis except the same tired programs that have minimum effect. In short, Blumenthal and the Carter administration lack the intellectual creativity and will essential to address the central economic crisis that faces Americans—but they, like their predecessors, are not above complaining about it.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the department of political science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

Roberta Lynch

The great self-centered utopia: small society, smaller selves



I recently received one of those irresistible offers to become a charter subscriber to a new magazine. This one really struck me—a new magazine for women called *Self!* The exclamation point is mine, but the title is for real. The accompanying sales pitch used the words "you" and "your" over 100 times.

It is 1978 and the "me" decade is supposed to be coming to an end. Yet, if anything, the pressure to self assert, self-activate and self-improve seems to be intensifying.

Looking Out for #1—which just about sums it all up—just came out in paperback and its sales are soaring. As Dr. Dan Asher, in the popular comic strip "Doonesbury," explains, someone else's job could be "just as much a part of your karma as of his, so if getting it means having to lie, manipulate, or slander him, then that's okay."

Although this new self-ismness is most openly propagated in personal terms, it is important to recognize that it has strong political counterparts. Conservatism has always argued, in essence, that the welfare of the whole is best served to the extent that each person strives to meet his or her own needs. Now those who have power increasingly use this rationale to justify current economic arrangements and to deflect criticism of their role.

The highly-publicized "tax revolt" is a dramatic sign of this political thrust. Although there is no doubt that working people are overtaxed and that there is considerable waste in the operation of government, the victory of Proposition 13 cannot be explained solely on this basis. There is another aspect that has to be taken into account.

To begin, very little of the tax revolt has been directed against the rich (individuals or corporations) who pay far less

than their fair share. Nor has it been directed against the real "waste" in government spending, e.g. subsidies to Lockheed Aircraft or millions spent on a now-defunct B-1 bomber. Instead it has largely had two underlying targets: public workers and those on welfare.

In both instances, the attitude of the rebellious taxpayer is similar: those people are living off my money and they don't work as hard as I do. In particular, there is a strong resentment against welfare recipients. A co-worker recently warned me that Illinois would soon be flooded by welfare people from California (because they only live where they can freeloader the most) unless we passed a version of Prop 13 here.

This is not to say that those who vote for tax reform are venal, racist or greedy. But more and more people are being influenced by an atmosphere of individualism that is a dangerous step backwards from America's tentative steps toward social responsibility and accountability.

In this respect I think it's vital to see how closely the issue of tuition tax credits currently being fought out in Congress is linked to the tax revolt movement.

In Ohio and Oregon public schools are in danger of closing because citizens are unwilling to approve tax increases needed to sustain them. And around the country teachers are forced to strike, special programs are cut back, and overcrowding grows as school systems limp along on inadequate budgets.

In the furious debate surrounding the fate of our schools, it is seldom mentioned that the necessary taxes could be levied on business, personal wealth, real estate speculation, etc., rather than relying on the regressive forms that most school taxes now take.

Instead, the new cure-all is the tuition

tax credit—allotting parents refunds for education and allowing them to send their children to any of an array of schools that will spring up to compete for their dollar. A free enterprise educational system.

Like the tax revolt—with its lack of concern for public services—the tuition tax credit idea posits a world that is one big marketplace in which everyone will be able to make every choice about what will best serve him or her as an individual, unfettered by social obligations.

In a euphoric article on Proposition 13, conservative columnist, James Kilpatrick brushed aside fears of loss of services, arguing that if citizens really wanted a library (or whatever) they could go out and take up enough collections to open one.

So here we have the great "self-centered" utopia! Every street corner crowded with coin collectors urging you to establish a police force or build a new wing for the hospital. People who can't get jobs (it's a certifiable fact that there aren't enough jobs to match the number of people) can compete for who's the neediest as they plead for small change.

Or maybe private enterprise will discover there's a profit to be made in it all. Just imagine the advantages in being able to call around to find out what fire company will give you the best rate should your house suddenly go up in flames.

This going back to laissez-faire capitalism in the public sphere is about as feasible as going back to good old-fashioned price wars in the monopoly sector. And in a note of painful irony it fails to come to terms with the ways in which the search for personal fulfillment is bound to the sense of social responsibility that this self-ismness seeks to undercut.

All the manuals, games, therapies, and so on that promise freedom from guilt,

hassles, and hardships steadfastly deal solely in the most restricted realms of our lives—sexuality, personality characteristics, family dynamics—the things that we tend to think of as our personal territory.

Yet in reality many of these problems have their genesis in a hidden realm of our experience—in problems that we usually see as neither personal nor political, but more as near-inevitable facts of life.

A working woman's frantic search for non-existent child care that can lead to deep-seated resentments against her husband or child. The pressure that many people face at work that can cause tension, family fights, and even violence. The lack of adequate mental health facilities that can prevent people from seeking treatment for deep depression. The lay-off that can send its victim on alcoholic binges.

This is not to say that good public services will solve all of our personal problems. Nor is it to say that our present public services are all that good.

It is to say that the only way to serve our "selves" is to move toward a society in which more—not less—of our needs are socially met. And it is to say that the only way to develop as an individual is by being part of a society that actively values the worth of each and every one of its members.

In my book this means some form of democratic socialism. Because the simple fact is that all the new magazines or old tax gimmicks will never make an economic system designed to serve profit really serve human needs. And isn't that what "self-hood" is really all about?

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a nationwide socialist organization.

Letters

WE'RE SORRY FOR THE DELAY

in the delivery of issues 40, 41, 42, and (this issue) 43. Problems with the post office and our equipment were responsible. We think we've straightened everything out, and by now you should have all four issues.

Moshewitz returns to the fray

THIS IS IN ANSWER TO JULI Loesch's letter (ITT, Sept. 6) which falsely states that opposition to abortion rights is not anti-woman.

Opposition to a woman's right to choose is inherently based on lies and superstition. The notion that a fetus is a life is designed to keep women in their "place," and is no different from the Shockleyan and Jenkensian theories of racial, ethnic, and sexual inferiority.

The "right to life" movement is part and parcel of the Catholic church's plot to dominate the United States and other countries. The "right to life" movement is anti-Semitic as well, as can be guessed by recent remarks made by Dr. Sassone. PEACE, besides conducting "non-violent" sit-ins has committed all manner of lawless acts against abortion

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clinics. PEACE is clearly lawless. Loesch falsely calls herself a feminist. One can not simultaneously be a feminist while opposing abortion rights.

-Karen Moshewitz
 Indianapolis, Ind.

About time

SURVIVALWOMAN SAYS...



A SMALL DONATION TO HELP keep your terrific newspaper going.

Michael Lerner's article on the family (ITT, Aug. 30) made a lot of sense -- if only it had been written 5 years ago! I sure did think I was crazy getting more emotional satisfaction from my own family than from the successive arrangements I lived in.

Let's continue this important discussion.

-Myra Novogrodsky
 Toronto, Ont.

Sorry

I WAS SORRY TO SEE MICHAEL Lerner pessimistically conceive the only workable politics to be the grim, survival-of-our-virtuous-people's-institution sort that the left has been failing with ever since the '60s.

As socialists, we shouldn't shackle ourselves to the defense of particular institutional forms. Even unions are now mainly a conservative force. Within communities, we ought to provide loose organizations that could challenge economic and political limits in a variety of ways. These organizations should reject Left "norms" which Lerner seems to be pushing. Instead, the organizations would be receptive and tolerant toward people of various lifestyles. Within these praxis oriented groups, people could define such concepts as "sexism" or "relationship" in context. In an atmosphere of free communication, nothing would be "sanctified," that is, alienated from analysis or redefinition.

A mental health worker like Lerner, I'm convinced that what people want now is a sustaining community that also gives each a true voice. Many young people still escape from their biological families at the earliest opportunity, even if only to start new ones. These are the constituents to which we should appeal

first. Their energy and daring would become the Left's greatest asset. We should lay aside "me-too" politics that could never help transform society.

-Hank Vandenburg
 Santa Cruz, Ca.

Growing up communal

I MUST TAKE EXCEPTION TO A point made by Michael Lerner's article, "Sanctify the family." (ITT, Aug. 30).

He indicates that the communal experiments have failed by and large, and that people admit to have given up on "new forms" and to have "grown up." I have recently returned from a conference sponsored by the Federation of Egalitarian Communities in which many active communities were represented. The communal experience is rapidly developing strength, is flourishing on a very decentralized basis, and exists as a new and viable form for lots of folks.

It is largely an invisible Movement to the average American, though solidly entrenched.

-Rick Cagan
 Columbia, Va.

Keep your eye on the shell

YOUR SPECIAL FEATURE ARTICLES on religion (ITT, Aug. 2) were interesting, but the resultant preening and/or outrage reflected in the letters columns in the next several issues was better.

Anita Bryant, in the name of God and family, is spearheading a campaign to bar many Americans from their basic civil rights. Phil Berrigan has served time in jail for his activities against an obscene war.

In Maryland thousands of dollars of charitable contributions were used to enrich the Catholic Church instead of alleviating the miseries of the poor, and in Plains, Ga. black people are barred from the white folks' church. But in Chile individual priests are in the streets fighting against a torture-ridden regime while the higher church authorities preach accommodation and acceptance. And in Nicaragua the clerical community have offered their bodies as surety against bloodshed.

Therefore, I find no validity in judging a person by his religion or lack of it, any more than I judge a person by the color of his skin. The fervent church-goer who fire-bombs the house of his black neighbor is a baddie. The atheist who donates 20 hours a week to a free clinic is the goodie.

The best rule of thumb is to forget the labels: *Watch their hands!*

-Barbara Ann Barnes
 Ellicott City, Md.

What you mean "our tribe"?

IT'S DISTRESSING BUT TO BE EXPECTED that movement leaders, particularly men, are not immune from the

distortion that our celebrity-conscious culture works on our priorities. Witness the "Bring Abbie Home" bash in New York in Madison Square Garden's Felt Forum in August. Sure, after splitting for life underground upon being busted for the sale of cocaine (on trumped-up charges or not), Abbie must have some problems -- but unlike others, Abbie's underground life seems uncharacteristically comfortable. White skin, being male, having wealthy acquaintances are privileges that you can take with you.

So male movement heavies still command center stage. Too bad, but double standards are not uncommon in our tribe. When Mark Rudd surfaced recently, all was quite unacrimonious. But when Jane Alpert surfaced some years back she was castigated and trashed largely for her courageous refusal to be silent in the face of a movement that was too closely allied with male supremacist traditions and patriarchal values. Other women, like Cathlyn Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin, who vanished after the Greenwich Village townhouse explosion in 1970, have not seemed to merit the concerns of movement leaders and their underground life came about more devastatingly (witnessing the death of comrades in a "bomb factory" that had somehow come to be seen as the only way to change America and end its reign of death on Indochina at a time when hopes had grown dim) than Abbie's cocaine bust.

A movement preoccupied with rites such as the bash for Abbie, risks betraying its commitment to those very different kind of rights to which our cultural events, as well as our political work, should speak.

-Gary Mitchell
 New Brunswick, N.J.

ITT cannot fail

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR APPEAL letter, here's a small contribution. I hope that other readers will respond in kind; as for me, I cannot allow ITT to fail.

To me, ITT represents the new beginnings towards unity, programmatic coherence, and political self-confidence that the left has been making in the latter half of the 1970s. The demise of the paper would signal a return to the "running-for-cover" existence of the left during the Nixon years.

I'm pleased with the addition of color, and pleased that the many irate letters have succeeded in increasing your coverage of the women's movement. Even for the narrowest of reasons it is important to play up the women's movement; after all, it is the only progressive movement that's been able to score a significant victory over the near right this year.

-Al Hart
 Erie, Pa.

White mouthpiece

MAC MARGOLIS' REVIEW OF Donald Woods' widely acclaimed book on Steven Biko (ITT, Aug. 16) was rightly critical. As he correctly remarks, Biko is portrayed as "a kind of a black caricature of Woods."

However, the book itself is not most pertinent. The contents ultimately degenerate into the trivia of personal anecdotes. It is the skillful way Woods (with a little help from his friends) has been able to portray himself as a mouthpiece for the aspirations of Black South Africans that is most pernicious.

The Writers Association of South Africa (WASA), which represents most Black journalists in South Africa, noted this and passed a resolution stating that "Donald Woods is irrelevant to the black struggle and to black journalism. WASA wants publicly to condemn him as an opportunist of the most unscrupulous kind." The resolution added "We express our disgust at the shameful manner in which he (Woods) is exploiting the name of the hero of the people, Steve Biko." (The London Guardian, July 4.)

Continued on following page.



"Before or after taxes?"

ROTHCO

More Letters

Continued from previous page.

The intensification of the struggle in South Africa has led to a search for new advocates of reformist solutions. Woods has had massive publicity. He has addressed the U. N. Security Council, had audiences with Carter and Mondale, been named as editor of the year by Granada Television in Britain and now with residence in the U.S. as a Nieman fellow at Harvard, he stomps this country speaking about South Africa.

His vision—like that of the great majority of white liberal South Africans—is of a multi-racial society, purged of all, or at least most, of its racist statutes. But the society will still be capitalist—indeed, liberalization is envisaged as being the only way to make South Africa safe for capitalism and to keep her in 'the Western camp.'

—a South African
Chicago

Tell it like it is

PLEASE SIGN ME UP FOR A year's renewal. I'm not even a socialist, I just enjoy reading honest news without all the usual bullshit. I work for Massachusetts Fair Share, and your circuit-breaker article portrayed the organization as it really exists. Stories on us done by the *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and most local papers are quite naive. Good luck.

—Bren McInnis
Somerville, Mass.

Cooking with Baker

BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THE 1976 and 1978 campaigns to elect General Baker to the Michigan State legislature to be of significance to the entire socialist community, we are grateful for the article by John Judis on the campaign.

Judis admitted his anti-communism;

it prejudiced him against investigating the only electoral campaign in 30 years in which a communist was given a chance to win a state office. This admission is useful in a process all of us need to go through in overcoming stereotyped thinking.

The election results should produce some re-examination of the politics of the Black Slate which can hardly be termed socialist, even of the "closet" variety. Barbara Martin of the Black Slate is being patently dishonest in her criticism of General Baker as wearing "two hats." Neither she, nor *ITT* for that matter, mentioned the reason General Baker was compelled to run in the Democratic primary. In 1976 the Democratic controlled legislature passed a new election law that took minor parties off the ballot. This patently anti-democratic law was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1977. Thus, Baker ran in the Democratic primary, not to hide his communist affiliation, but because it was the only access to the ballot.

Judis admits some considerable ignorance of the Communist Labor Party. As to our position on the Soviet Union, both General Baker and I stressed the importance of this question by publishing an entire book on it—*Socialism in the Soviet Union* (J. Aurthur, Workers Press, 1977), a position founded on Marxist analysis.

We don't agree that "common sense" and Marxism-Leninism are in contradiction, nor the latter obsolete. We did not conceive of and run the General Baker campaign beginning in 1976, in spite of our understanding of Marx and Lenin, but because of socialist precepts. Neither does our position on the centrality of organizing the South follow from tailing the AFL-CIO, but indeed flows from our analysis of the struggle to free the Negro Nation—also discussed in contemporary terms in a book by Nelson Perry, *The Negro National Colonial Question* (Workers Press, 1975).

The *ITT* article on the Baker campaign recognizes that it had implications far beyond the boundaries of the 9th District. The right wing, the FBI (who have already collected 10,000 pages on our relatively young party), as well as the highest ranks of the Democratic Party and the UAW understood full well the national significance of the Baker cam-

paign. We congratulate *ITT* for taking a position founded on Marxist analysis.

—Ronald D. Giotto,
State Chairman, CLP
Detroit, Mich.

No exit on Easy St.

DAN MARSHALL'S ARTICLE on the Kucinich recall election (*ITT*, Aug. 23) was disappointing and dangerous. While Marshall says that "A prime issue in the campaign was race," he managed to write the article without getting the opinion of any black person on the issues.

Marshall writes that most black public figures and 62 percent of the black voters supported the recall, but does not say why.

He does say that Kucinich opposed busing. It seems reasonable that some black opposition might be due to Kucinich's stand on a program considered beneficial. But Marshall does not pursue that line of investigation.

The article concentrates instead on Kucinich's "well cultivated rapport with white, working-class ethnic groups." A burning question presents itself: How much of that "well-cultivated rapport" is based on Kucinich's opposition to busing? Marshall doesn't answer the question.

Kucinich's populist proposals may indeed strike a sympathetic chord in the minds and hearts of white working people. But whatever hopes he inspires will remain frustrated so long as they are built on the continued inequality of black people. Praising white workers' desires for a more equitable future society may be easier than criticizing their complicity in preserving the worst of present inequity but the history of white supremacy in the U.S. has demonstrated that the easy way is a dead end.

—John Garvey
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dan Marshall replies:

Racial politics in Cleveland are far more complex than the particular issue of busing. Since Carl Stokes, a liberal black mayor who was ousted by the same corporate-oriented forces now fighting Kucinich, conservative blacks have risen to leadership of the black community.

Those leaders not only support tax abatements and corporate give-aways, but also have enhanced racial tensions in an attempt to undercut Kucinich. In order to effect progressive change, any political organization would have to oppose their policies.

Kucinich's black opponents charged him with racism but provided no proof. The fact that so few blacks voted suggests that they are gradually shifting away from their established leaders. Kucinich's opposition to busing stems not from individual racism—his policies, programs and appointments indicate that he rejects such views—but from his perception that such liberal "solutions" to centuries of racial oppression serve more to divide the working class, black and white, than heal structural inequalities.

It is unclear how much of his support among white ethnics is tied to his busing position. Though he realized that relatively few blacks would vote, and that strong opposition to busing might pick up votes in some white communities, he refrained from making it an issue in the recall campaign.

Correction

*In the interview with G. William Domhoff (*ITT*, Sept. 6), the title of his most recent book was given incorrectly. It is *WHO REALLY RULES?* (Good-year Publishing Co., Santa Barbara, Cal.)*

In addition in the second to last paragraph of the interview there is a small typographical error that changes the meaning. The sentence says that you can count on a crisis to create left politics. It should have said, as the next sentence makes clear, that "we cannot count on crisis to create our politics."

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins. Letters must be signed, with a return address. We will withhold your name or use a pseudonym if you wish, but we will not print unsigned letters or those without addresses.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

By Susan Stern

Reading *Time* magazine recently I came across a picture of an anti-nuclear power demonstrator being dragged away from the Seabrook nuclear power plant. "Reminiscent of the '60s," read the caption, but someone had crossed it out and scrawled, "Beginning of the '80s."

When I was at the August 6th Diablo Canyon anti-nuke demonstration those contradictory captions kept coming to mind, but it was one of those blazing California beach days when the sun threatens to blur all distinctions — between body and body, this fact and that. Yet memory, better insulated than thought, repeated like AM radio. I remembered that watching *Coming Home* it was easy to feel righteous when the Rolling Stones played "Streetfighting Man"; yet when I picked up a hitchhiking punk-rocker who told me he worked part-time building a nuclear power plant, feeling was more complex and perhaps no longer enough.

To comprehend the demonstration at Diablo Canyon, first imagine the setting: a strip of white beach running from the surfing town of Avila to the cement and steel pier bordering PG&E property. Above the pier, up the dusty road from the beach, in the crumbling brown California hills, is the entrance to the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. The plant itself is hidden deep in the folds of the canyon, but PG&E maintains a Spanish-style tile-roofed entrance house beside black metal gates. A cyclone fence topped with barbed wire extends north and south from these gates about 500 feet up the steep hills on either side of the driveway. In front of the neat white entrance house is a neat white sign: "Pacific Gas and Electric Company...Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant...Permission to Pass Revokable at Any Time."

Today the entrance to the plant is marred by hastily spray-painted NO TRESPASSING signs, and fifty feet in front of the black gates and chain-link fence dangle two wooden plaques on which an injunction against the occupiers has been glued.

Most of the 4,000-plus demonstrators will never see the power plant entrance. Most will stay down of the beautiful beach with the twirling windmill, solar energy displays and political tables; enjoying speeches, folksingers and political theater. It is very hot, the sky a brilliant blue, and people are greased and shining with suntan oil, gritty with sand.

The "working counterculture."

Of the people that are fully clothed, half wear dayglo red badges marked MEDIA. Half these people are amateur photographers, Sunday video freaks, and free-lance journalists on speculation. The other half are legit: an attractive couple from *New West*, a Charleton Heston type from *NBC* looking cheesy in a baby blue leisure suit, a seriously slouching team from *Optic Nerve*, an Ivy League long-hair from the *Washington Post*. The MEDIA people are working up a sweat. When two or more pounce on someone, the others run over frantically, fearing a scoop. On the beach and the road you see large clots of people bristling with microphones. The problem is nothing much is happening.

Cars fill the Avila beach parking lot and line the road to the power plant. Like their owners on the beach, they represent the new "working counterculture": presentable Volkswagens and serviceable Japanese cars; sloppily dressed Caucasians in their late twenties to middle thirties, some with small children. There are a few wood-shingled hippie vans and enough longhairs in patches and velvet to make the crowd look younger and reminiscent of the sixties. A hippie girl undulates to music

DIABLO

On the beach: The levitation of a nuclear sandcastle

Anger, moral feeling, was not enough to get you through the gates. If you wanted anger, catharsis, or good old black-and-white protest, then you would have been better off going to a punk concert.

blaring from a transistor radio. "Don't fuck Mother Earth" is written on her tee shirt in black magic marker.

The handful of pro-nuclear demonstrators are scattered up the road, posing for photographers like serious primitives and fanning themselves in their folding chairs. A drawn-faced woman standing in front of a huge Winnebago sports a tee-shirt imprinted: "Nuclear Power is Safer Than Sex."

Up and down the road drive black and white highway patrol cars.

Armband politics.

At noon, finally, something begins to happen on the beach. A small, dark man with Brooklynese accents takes the stage and hunches over the microphone.

"Wave, wave, wave, wave, wave, wave..." he begins a reverberating chant, "wave, wave, wave, wave, wave of abalones, wave, wave, wave, wave washing over Diablo Canyon, washing over Diablo Canyon nuclear sandcastle, wave, wave, wave..."

The crowd cheers. Behind the stage, the first "wave" of occupiers prepares. Launching dingies from the Greenpeace ship *Seawitch* they will attempt a landing on the PG&E beach around the cliffs north of the plant entrance. Wanting a word with the occupiers, I walk past the stage. Immediately, I am stopped by a Abalone Alliance monitor.

The monitor wears a pale blue armband. He tells me that people who do not have an armband signifying non-violent training are not permitted beyond this point. If I had been an occupier I would have had a yellow armband with the special "no nukes" insignia emblazoned in red. Had I been a police liaison, I would have had a bright green armband. Had I been a legal observer I would have had a bright orange armband. If I was a medic, I would have had a red cross armband. Even if I were a pro-nuker I would have had an armband: solid green.

"Only people with non-violent training," said the monitor, "can participate in or observe the occupation."

My friends and I came to Diablo thinking that no one group had a monopoly on the protest. "Some people might feel angry or frustrated when they find out they can't occupy," I say.

He agrees with me. I agree that the Abalone Alliance has gone to a lot of trouble organizing the demonstration and understandably doesn't want their non-violent style spoiled by any private, violent outbursts.

Best-laid plans.

I walk away feeling like a guest at a party where I don't know the hostess. Clearly, the occupiers/blockaders will experience a different event from the spectators. This morning, while thousands sunbathed, the affinity groups (the basic organizational units of the occupation) discussed whether to maintain day-to-day solidarity in prison or refuse to leave until everyone was captured. That they would be arrested was a foregone conclusion. The details had been discussed with the sheriff's department earlier in the week.

"They've organized the demonstration to death!" I heard a couple of people grumble, but most people seemed satisfied to cheer the occupiers on, or possibly they were just picnicking on what turned out to be a very popular beach.

I couldn't help remembering the International Hotel demonstration in San Francisco last summer. The police charged with horses and clubbed people, but the protesters *still* wanted to guard the hotel even after their organizers ordered them to desist. Nor could I forget the final anti-war riots in Berkeley after the mining of Haiphong Harbor when the demonstrators trashed all the plate glass down Shattuck Avenue and tore down the "People's Park" fence for the last time.

Recording the revolution.

I left the beach and scrambled up the road. Opposite the power plant gate a man and a woman in a dusty green van are eavesdropping on the police radio system. They tell me that the po-

lice have caught the first raft of the first wave, and the others are re-grouping on the beach. I mill around the gates like everyone else and notice that not many people have heard this news, although most of them wear either MEDIA badges or armbands.

It occurs to me that this demonstration has gone beyond being a "media event" in the usual sense. We are living in an age when people can make their own television programs. Everyone out here with their camera or microphone is trying to be part of it themselves. At this demonstration it's easier to get a press pass than an armband—all you have to do is ask.

Nothing is happening at the plant gate, so I decide to go to the beach, but I barely walk fifty yards before I notice that the stragglers walking up the road have thickened into a mob.

The second wave! I run back up the hill and jump up on an old fuel tank for a better view. The occupiers walk past the plant gates carrying signs and bobbing balloons. Some, mostly men, carry long, homemade ladders with yellow ropes. A small blond boy walks past with a shiny aluminum step ladder.

The procession stops at a deep ravine just north of the plant gates and the occupiers charge up the hill, cheered on by their supporters. Some media people scramble up the loose gravel with them; others fight for position parallel to the climbers against the inside of the PG&E fence. The attention is focused so intently on the occupiers that the ground under them seems heated; the air around them seems to vibrate with the pressure of our eyes. Eventually, it becomes obvious that the air is stirred by a helicopter hovering low overhead throwing its quick black shadow over the area. It is one of three helicopters which swoop back and forth over the area like bombardiers. I assume that they are police, but later find out that two are MEDIA.

The flashiest wave.

The second wave reaches the fire road just above, but outside of, the PG&E fence. They huddle for some minutes, and then march around the side of the mountain. "Go for it!" yells one supporter.

When the wave has disappeared the supporters straggle down the road again, but the MEDIA begins to gather inside the chain-link fence for the third wave. "Its going to be the flashiest wave," a monitor tells me, "for the media."

Down the road we see a mob approaching. We expect the third wave, but Lo! they are wearing green armbands! The pro-nukers walk as if approaching an altar. Young men and their wives in madras J.C. Penney's shirts. Sunburned teenagers with white goo on their noses. Grey-haired men who roll like tractors and either own land in town or think they do.

They arrive at the gate, then hesitate. Resolutely, if self-consciously, they cross the road and turn to face the plant—turning their signs into a fence. "Welfare supports kooks, Workers support nukes" says one sign. "Don't believe Abalone Baloney," says another.

The pro-nukers are hardly in place when six Japanese Buddhists, walking single file and beating drums, approach from the beach, trailing black robes. The Buddhists walk up to the gates and pivot, all at once, to the south, still beating in 4/4 time. From the south comes the third wave, carrying ladders and backpacks, balloons and potted trees. Along with their supporters and bellowing monitors, the occupiers swell into the plant entranceway, almost pushing against the bellies of the pro-nukers.

With practiced precision the wave flops their special giraffe-legged ladders over the fence. They throw rolls of carpet over the barbed wire. They hand their packs across the carpet and climb



Arrested protestors at Diablo Canyon anti-nuclear demonstration.

Pat Goudvis

over the ladders, jumping to PG&E ground like happy paratroopers. Some raise clenched fists and the crowd cheers wildly.

It looks like there might be a confrontation. The disapproval and lawfulness of the pro-nukers weighs heavily. The anti nukers turn to face the pro-nukers.

"No Nukes! No Nukes! No Nukes!" they begin the fevered chant. But they drop it after only a few bars. It peters out. There is no confrontation, and once the fragile tension passes I wonder why I expected it. The occupation of Diablo is a symbolic event, which will, its organizers hope, invoke the "real" confrontation: the trial of nuclear power in the courtroom. The trashing of Shattuck Avenue, by com-

parison, was not symbolic. The days of rage were not symbolic.

Beyond the moral imperative.

"What do you think would have happened," my friend said to me later, driving home from Diablo drinking beer and listening to the Stones, "if someone grabbed a bullhorn and said"—he threw his arms wide—"Come on! Let's take the plant!"

"Is that what you wanted to do?" I asked.

"I wanted to tear the place apart," he said.

I told him I didn't think he'd have much of a following. In the 1960s anger qualified you to protest. The Vietnam War had complex causes but the moral imperative was simply OUT NOW. But

the issue of energy sources, like many of the issues of the late 1970s, is not a moral issue. Anger, moral feeling, was not enough to get you through the gates at Diablo. It was also one of the farthest things from people's minds. If it was anger you wanted, catharsis, good old black-and-white protest, then you would have been better off going to a punk concert.

A folksinger was on when the fourth wave trudged up the dusty road. People on the beach stripped off their clothes and plunged into the water, dancing to the music. By the time the fifth wave was leaving, the water was getting cold. People began shaking out their clothes and trying to dislodge their cars, crabby and sunburned after a day at the beach.

Epilogue.

A total of 482 protestors were arrested during the occupation of Diablo August 6th and the blockade the next day. The only unplanned or violent incident, however, occurred one week later and caused an estimated \$4.5 million worth of damage. Though some of the anti-nuclear people may have applauded, they had nothing to do with the earthquake which shook Santa Barbara to 5.9 on the Richter scale. Nuclear power authorities reported that the quake did no damage to the San Luis Obispo power plant, but the threat of always another earthquake is the joker in the deck in the nuclear energy battle in California.

Susan E. Stern is a freelance writer living in San Francisco.

TRANSPORTATION

Disabled get a lift from new buses

By Irwin B. Arieff

WASHINGTON

OLD AND HANDICAPPED PEOPLE may find it easier getting on and off city buses before too many years. The Transportation Department has worked out a compromise to a situation that had threatened to block the so-called "transbus" before the first one reached the assembly lines.

The department spent \$27 million developing the new type of urban transit bus, on orders from Congress that federally funded transportation projects be accessible to the aged and handicapped.

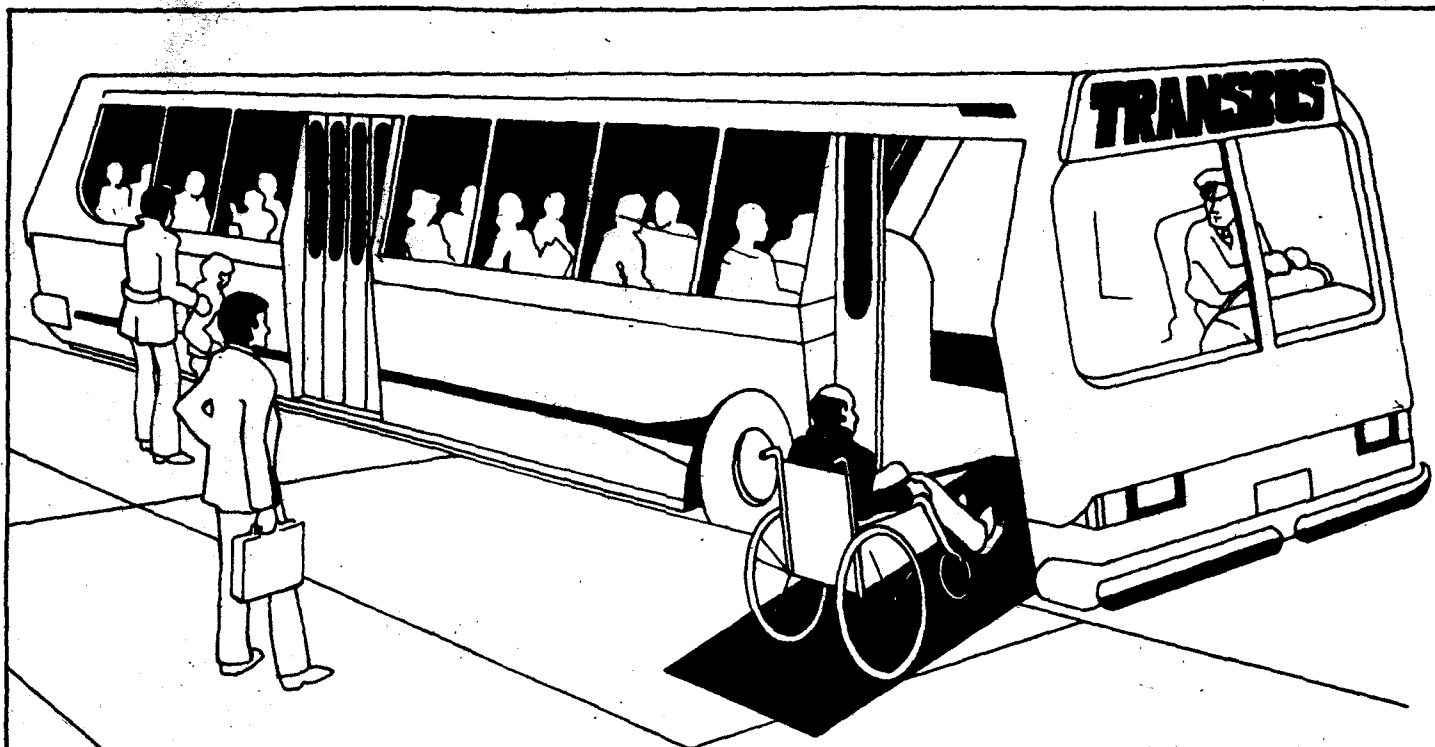
But the House Public Works Committee, at the urging of the General Motors Corp. (GM), inserted a provision in a highway funding bill that could have put the brakes on the controversial project.

Under the compromise, negotiated between GM and a coalition of 13 organizations representing the elderly and handicapped, the transbus program will continue. But the bus' debut will be delayed for a number of years.

Transportation Secretary Brock Adams originally ruled in May 1977 that all transit buses purchased with federal funds after Sept. 30, 1979, must meet the department's transbus specifications.

During its consideration of highway funding legislation, however, Public Works approved a provision—sought by GM—calling on Adams to re-evaluate the transbus program. The provision also required the department to undertake three-month field tests of competing transbus models.

Because no company currently manufactures a transbus, the buses to be field-



New buses required by the Transportation Department would provide ramps and lifts for disabled.

General Motors Corporation, one of the largest bus manufacturers, has fought to delay the introduction of buses for the elderly.

tested would have to be hand-built, a process that could have taken about nine months.

The uncertainty created by the re-evaluation request forced a consortium of three cities—Los Angeles, Miami and Philadelphia—to drop plans to buy more than 500 transbuses in advance of the September 1979 deadline.

The uncertainty also caused one potential manufacturer—AM General Corp.—to shut down most of its transit bus manufacturing operation, and another—Grumman Flexible Corp.—to notify the Transportation Department that it no longer was willing to bid for transbus construction contracts.

The only other firm that manufactures urban transit buses is the GMC Division of General Motors.

Throughout the development of transbus, GM had lobbied the Transportation Department for a delay or a change in the specifications that would permit it to

continue producing the conventional transit bus it already manufactured.

Among the department's requirements were that the transbus have a ramp at the front door for wheelchair access, and a lower floor height than existing buses.

Of the three companies that were asked to help the department develop the transbus specifications, only GM refused to build a bus with a lower floor height. And rather than a ramp at the front of the bus, GM wanted to put a hydraulic lift at the back door.

GM executives argued that the low-floor bus was "a technological disaster," and that handicapped people couldn't get up the ramp at bus stops where there was no curb. They threatened to close down their bus manufacturing operation rather than retrofit their plants to the department's specifications.

Representatives of the elderly and handicapped, on the other hand, argued that the ramp was superior, and that most bus

stops are on streets with curbs.

The transbus compromise was expected to be unveiled in mid-September during House floor consideration of the highway funding measure. Rep. James J. Howard (D-NJ) confirmed that he has agreed to offer an amendment at that time to drop the transbus-delaying provision.

For its part, GM has agreed to "step back" from its support for the provision, and to draft cost estimates and a new design for a low-floor bus, according to GM lobbyist Roland Ouellette. In return, GM would be given a longer period to develop its transbus than under the existing deadline.

The handicapped and elderly groups, whose highly effective public relations campaign was largely responsible for GM's change of heart, won a promise that ever transbus would feature either a front-door ramp or a front-door hydraulic lift, at the option of the purchaser.

(©1978 Congressional Quarterly)

Solution to last week's puzzle:

A	P	H	R	H	S	T	C	E	S
R	O	U	E	A	A	A	T	R	A
C	L	A	S	S	T	R	U	G	L
S	O	C	I	E	T	Y	R	A	S
F	R	E	T	N	I	C	A	E	A
A	I	R	E	D	C	O	L	T	S
T	O	R	R	I	D	S	I	T	A
H	I	S	Z	R	E	M	E	S	E
A	R	T	S	E	R	A	S	E	R
S	T	A	T	I	C	S	T	R	E
B	E	R	T	E	L	L	O	L	L
A	L	O	E	S	E	S	E	I	R
T	E	N	D	C	S	A	S	T	E

CLASSIFIED

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EVENTS

CHICAGO READERS! Diana Johnstone, ITT Paris correspondent, will speak on "The Future of Europe: Capitalism or Socialism?" Tues., Oct. 3, 8 p.m., at Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 N. Seminary (enter School St.). Johnstone has recently reported on the Moro killing and the French elections, and has won high praise for her insights into European affairs. Co-sponsored by In These Times and Second City Socialist School.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records

WHO ARE YOU
The Who
(MCA Records)

"I hope I die before I get old." The line from the Who's most famous song, "My Generation," may have been written by Pete Townshend, but everyone assumed that it would first apply to drummer Keith Moon. Well-known for his alcoholism, pill popping, and erratic behavior, Moon died last week in London of a drug overdose at the age of 31.

Despite the band's announced intentions to find a new drummer and remain intact, *Who Are You* could likely be the last album the group will produce. Although the Who were formed in 1964 and were the only remaining 1960's supergroup to exist with its old personnel intact, the band had hardly been a collective entity in recent years. This is the group's first album in three years, during which time members have worked on individual projects in music and film.

Although there are moments in *Who Are You* that recall earlier phases of the Who's career — the hard rock power chords of their first album, which has been one of the major influences on punk rock, and the soaring, overblown style of their rock opera *Tommy* — the new album is dominated by electronics.

The album cover of *Who Are You* lets us know what we are in for. The band is photographed with no guitars, basses, or drums, but instead is surrounded by a mass of wires, plugs and electrical outlets.

Although bass player John Entwistle contributed three songs to the album, including an engaging number entitled "905" about a test tube baby, as usual guitarist Townshend supplies most of the material and his vision dominates the album. If there is a discernible theme in *Who Are You* it is a commitment to continual musical exploration.

"New Song" opens the album and ingeniously weaves a fluttery synthesizer around and through Townshend's chords. But the lyrics reveal a looming dissatisfaction with the constraints of conventional rock forms that belie the song's happy sound:

*"I write the same old song
with a few new lines,
And everybody wants to cheer
it."*

Townshend realizes that most rock fans have rather narrow tastes and that he could easily write songs that would ensure the band's continued commercial success. But he recognizes, as Roger Daltrey's extremely powerful singing on "Music Must Change" emphasizes, that he and his band must try to change and grow:

*"Deep in the back of my mind
is an unrealized sound.
Every feeling I get from the
streets says it soon could
be found."*

The unrealized sound is the successful mixture of rock, strings, and synthesizers. In the past, most rock groups that played in the style sometimes known as

"Technoflash" abandoned whatever spirit or feeling they may ever have had for rock and roll and produced ersatz crapola. Even as fine a musician as David Bowie has failed to produce in his newer works an electronic music that measures up to the hard rock of his earlier albums.

This isn't the first time that the Who have utilized synthesizers; they did so in their excellent 1971 album *Who's Next*. But synthesizers dominate *Who Are You* to a greater extent than ever before. Their precision enhances the daring changes of pacing that occur within songs throughout the album, nowhere more brilliantly than the stop and go rhythms of "New Song." Although the gadgetry occasionally smothers the sound, the new album is remarkably successful.

Who Are You is the kind of album that forces rock fans to re-evaluate our critical criteria. For those of us rock traditionalists who cherish a hard, clean and simple sound, the triumphant merger of rock and advanced electronics represents a breakthrough.

Uncertain future.

Sadly, Keith Moon's death will certainly cancel the long-delayed tour by the band that was to have taken place this year. In light of the achievement of *Who Are You* as a record album produced in a

studio, the next step for the band would have been to attempt to present this kind of material before a live audience.

Moon's death comes at a time when the Who are particularly fragile. Although Moon's hyperactive drumming has often seemed out-of-sync with the rest of the band and his bizarre behavior has estranged him from other band members, his playing on *Who Are You* fit in with the total sound better than usual. More problematic, Daltrey and Townshend have been absorbed in their own activities and have publically expressed uncertainty about the future of the group. Moon's death may offer a sad, but easier resolution.

Especially in light of these developments, the photograph of the band on the album cover of *Who Are You* offers a startling image. Townshend looks characteristically intense, with huge semi-circles under the eyes of his usually tortured face; Entwistle is as inscrutable as he always is, standing awkwardly stiff; Daltrey appears as healthy, happy and hip as the movie star he's become; and finally, there is a bloated and sad Keith Moon, dressed in a silly riding outfit, sitting on a chair with stenciled lettering saying "Not To Be Taken Away." —Bruce Dancis
Bruce Dancis writes regularly for In These Times about rock and reggae music.

Ry Cooder has preserved the spirit of indigenous musical forms.

JAZZ
Ry Cooder
(Warner's)

No one else working in pop music today has the deep historical sensibility of Ry Cooder. The music of The Band has always been touched by themes from the Canadian and American Southern past. Randy Newman has frequently spliced historical subjects into his rolling show-tune style to create poignant musical short subjects. But only Cooder has taken the indigenous musical forms of the United States and preserved both their structural integrity and their spirit while making them his own.

In his first four albums for Warner Brothers, Cooder stuck mostly to black country blues and traditional folk tunes as vehicles for his virtuosic mandolin and guitar playing. A few well chosen pop, gospel and rhythm and blues numbers broadened the range of his lively resurrections from the underside of American musical culture.

On *Chicken Skin Music* in 1976 he began to explore the geographic frontiers of U.S. music—the *norteno* music of the Southwest and the traditional instrumentation of Hawaii—as well as to further refine his unique approach to blues and gospel.

When Cooder makes these eclectic excursions, accompanied by master musicians from each

genre, he never settles for mere mimicry or technical reproductions. His arrangements, playing and singing all reveal a genuine affection and respect for the musical heritage.

Jazz is Cooder's tribute to what he calls "the periphery of popular jazz trends" of the early 20th century. The songs of Jelly Roll Morton, Bert Williams, Bix Beiderbecke and others are lovingly recreated through an elegant blend of authentic spirit and sophisticated, modern technique. The instrumentation is eccentric, with a variety of horns, reeds, organs, pianos and Caribbean instruments surrounding Cooder's crisp, expressive guitar. The arrangements are intriguingly complex and deceptively smooth.

The three Beiderbecke tunes that open Side Two are constructed with a delicately classical touch and convey an ethereal fragile beauty not commonly associated with jazz. But before we float away in this romantic atmosphere, Ry brings us back down to earth with the sardonic humor of "Shine," a thinly veiled black comment on racist stereotyping, and the sarcastic lamentations of "Nobody."

Some of Joseph Byrd's ensemble arrangements seem a little too polished, even though they're played with the swinging looseness characteristic of early jazz. But this minor reservation fades quickly in the good feelings the music inspires. Ry Cooder and friends obviously had fun playing these tunes, and their enthusiasm proves that good music can be historically grounded yet timelessly appreciated.

—Derk Richardson
Derk Richardson is a free-lance writer in Berkeley.

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A RETURN TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME



By Carol Brightman

When Frank Esposito graduated from high school in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, it was 1968. For him and his buddies, there were three roads to manhood: go to Vietnam, go to jail, go to Canada. According to Esposito, many of his friends took another path less traveled in their neck of the woods: they shot up for their physicals, or made themselves otherwise unfit. Frank went to war. "When you're 18, what do you know?"

Today, ten years later, Esposito says he is one of three million veterans who know too much and who are still not talking—not even to each other. "We were 18 and we went and we did the job," he explains, "killing, communications, paperwork. But something went wrong. It was wierd. You got no satisfaction. You got your orders in English but to obey you had to forget who you were every morning and where you came from at night."

Post-Vietnam syndrome.

In a family history course I teach at a LaGuardia Community College extension program in Brooklyn, Frank Esposito wrote about his Uncle Tony, the family's war hero who was killed in the Normandy invasion. "The man was a myth in my house," he recalls, "bigger than life, but the more I

ask people about him now, the less I know who he really was." A dangerous thought has formed in his mind. "There is a halo around World War II," he says. "We got ten years off it—ten years of good times...but I wonder, wasn't it just as insane as Vietnam for the guy with the grenade?"

When Esposito came home to a crisis-ridden society—short on jobs and, for the first time, short on promises as well—he saw it all as another face of America's defeat in Vietnam. After one year in a two-year A.A. program, he has still gotten no response to the monthly claims he files for tuition assistance under the GI bill. Today, with a half million vets still unemployed and, according to veteran leader Ron Kovic, another quarter of a million afflicted with serious psychological, drug and alcohol problems, the personal crises of the "post-Vietnam syndrome" have become chronic symptoms of breakdown in the country's veteran-support systems.

Esposito views this breakdown as part of a more profound abandonment. He thinks Vietnam vets are marked men—marked with the stigmata of a very dirty war and an inglorious defeat. "You don't value what you've spoiled," he says enigmatically. "You dump it. There's a whole generation, a whole chunk of time, that's been junked. And the sad thing is we're

all still standing around, wondering what hit us..."

The scene of the crime.

Talking with a veteran like Frank Esposito, you begin to understand why the entertainment industry has been loathe to bankroll movies about Vietnam—and why those it has produced have been marketed as love stories (*Coming Home*), comedy (*Boys in Company C*) or "high epic adventure" (*Apocalypse Now*). This is a war that a great many people have a strong stake in forgetting. The truth about its conduct tells us things about our society and ourselves that most of us are not ready to hear. Yet it is precisely the evasion of this history and its shadow over the future which opens the field to commercial exploitation. And Hollywood has finally caught on.

"A time arrives for almost anything," says Mike Medavoy, until recently production chief for United Artists. "The Vietnam war caused an enormous wound in American consciousness, and sooner or later you knew people were going to come back to those years." Judging from the strong box office returns on *Coming Home* and *The Boys in Company C*, the first two of the eight major war pictures scheduled for 1978-79, people are returning to the scene of the crime in mass multiples of ones and twos: consumers in the dark.

Scheduled for fall and winter release are *The Deer Hunter*, starring Robert De Niro as a steelworker who returns to Vietnam to search for a missing buddy and a lost youth; *Dog Soldiers*, about a drug-smuggling war correspondent played by Michael Moriarty, whose world turns murderous and unreal; *Go Tell the Spartans*, starring Burt Lancaster as an American "advisor" holding down the fort in the early years of the war. *Apocalypse Now*, a 20th century update of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and at \$30 million, the blockbuster of them all, has just been rescheduled for a 1979 release.

For Hollywood in 1978, Vietnam has come home at last as a business proposition, but one calculated as carefully as any political campaign. Three years ago when *Apocalypse Now* was a gleam in Francis Ford Coppola's eye, United Artists hired Washington's chief public relations men, Pat Caddell and Gerald Rafshoon, to find out "why people go to movies and what their feelings are about the war." The details of their report are secret—would Ford tell you why you're going to buy a Pinto? But insiders who describe the document as a "massive intelligence report" say that basically Caddell and Rafshoon turned up a deep reservoir of unease over the lack of any official accounting of the losses in Vietnam. Something more than a hefty profit on a \$30 million investment is at stake in market research of this caliber. Pat Caddell is one of Carter's chief political operatives (his other clients include Exxon, Sears, the atomic power industry and the government of Saudi Arabia).

Hollywood's "new-boys."

Caddell likes the way Coppola handles hot issues. With Vietnam he believes "Coppola is trying to do what he did in *The Godfather*. Not to have a movie that takes an extreme point of view at either end, but one that's an experience that touches a lot of different levels at once." And there is every indication that *Apocalypse Now* will offer spectators a vicarious immersion in the raw sensations of war, detached from troubling

allusions to time and place, cause and effect. "It's not political," says John Milius, who wrote the original screenplay in 1969. "It's an adventure story [based on] the idea of white civilized men going into a place where they suddenly have enormous power."

Along with Steven Spielberg (*Jaws*, *Close Encounters*), George Lucas (*Star Wars*) and Paul Schrader (*Blue Collar*, *Hard Core*), Milius is a member of Hollywood's "new-boy network" of truth-in-thrill seekers. In 1969 he was hot to go to Vietnam as a "marine navigator" (asthma kept him home). Recently he finished directing a semi-autobiographical surfing flick, *Big Wednesday*. "I would never take politics so seriously," he says, "after having seen a 20-foot wave."

The plot of *Apocalypse Now* is a well-guarded secret, but one crew member has provided some interesting clues. Like Marlowe in *Heart of Darkness*, an army officer is sent up river to find his "Kurtz"—a Green Beret commander who has gone mad. As he moves deeper into the jungle he confronts the deeper darkness, the violence of bloodlust, in himself. "Through the unravelling of his mind the film examines certain moral questions that arose because of this war," the informant says. "The approach is psychological." An early script I have seen shows *Apocalypse Now* as a kind of Vietnam-era *Lawrence of Arabia*, hot on the sex and death trail.

The great 1970s evasion.

One film which takes a more political approach is Hal Ashby's *Coming Home*. It is the only picture to incorporate the social reality of open resistance to the war's demands—which was as much a part of the period as the surrender to violence and disillusion.

The post-Vietnam generation that makes up the lion's share of any audience may well leave the other films stirred by violent fantasies, bathed in despair or even touched by moments of truth and camaraderie under fire that illuminated the dark years for survivors. But they will see nothing of the tremendous upheavals in the routines of American life triggered by the war, the smashing of idols, the fall of the dollar and American credibility, the assassinations and attempted assassinations, the riots and rebellions in the inner cities and college towns, the breakdowns in established authority and the onslaught of repression. Even *Coming Home* reflects these tumultuous social changes only in their individual manifestations.

Starring Jane Fonda, Bruce Dern and Jon Voight, *Coming Home* is a cathartic love story about Vietnam. Sally Hyde, a lonely officer's wife, nightengaling at a VA hospital, collides with Luke Martin on his rolling stretcher, smashes his piss bag, begs forgiveness. Out of such beginnings only true love conquers; theirs is patient, respectful, restrained by a husband at war, and the strangeness. You believe in it (if only Sally hadn't told us it was her "first" orgasm). It's a timeless formula, but like the personal focus of the whole film, more a product of the mid-1970s than the 1960s. Look for the telltale thunder of 1968, when the movie is set, and you find only two flickering intrusions. News of the Tet Offensive and news of the Kennedy assassination enter by way of a background stage prop: a television. Playlets within the play.

"I would have liked to have seen the movie much more rooted in the Tet Offensive period in Vietnam," Fonda has said, "but we couldn't find a way to do it

that wouldn't come across as laying a message on people." When a veteran anti-war campaigner like Fonda must keep the pivotal events of 1968 out of the picture for fear of "laying a message on people," something is up. And the truth is that *Coming Home* mirrors the great 1970s evasion of precisely those historic events that weakened the structures of authority in national life. In 1968 the real counterparts for Luke, Sally and Captain Hyde would have been far more absorbed in national events like the Tet Offensive or the Kennedy assassination (and probably less absorbed in each other). Only now are large historical events kept in the background to intrude, if at all, by way of the tube.

Ruptured honor.

This is not France, where the fantasy of colonial dominion, spoiled in Indochina, was refought in Algeria and then played out to the bitter end in Paris, until there wasn't a citizen plodding the daily round who didn't know what it was all about—and what was lost. This is the U.S.A., where a savage and costly war of conquest was waged against a distant people with whom we had no previous connection, without anyone ever really knowing why. In *Coming Home* it is not Luke Martin who captures this dilemma but the Marine captain, whose torments about the war and his life run too deep for him—and for that matter, the filmmakers—to face.

When his wife visits him in Hong Kong, Captain Hyde blurts out his shame: "My men were chopping heads off...They were into it." Here is an opening, a tortuous admission for Hyde, a more awful reality: the rupture in the continuous line of honor—once upheld by the Uncle Tonys—of the American warrior myth.

It is Hyde, not Martin, who is our link to the numberless men who learned to deal death and live with death in Vietnam. When Hyde is banished to a watery grave, we lose contact with all those men, no longer young, who have joined the drifting, indifferent multitudes at supermarkets, Burger Kings, to marry, father children, file claims under the old names, knowing all the while that they are not the same men who went to war and this is not the same country they left behind. Luke absolves himself (something which Esposito thinks may come easier to the wounded), but his renunciation of the war and his role in it is a private victory over disillusion.

I am reminded of a memorable line in the ABC television documentary, *The Class That Went to War*. Narrator Steve Bell is speaking of the Chatham High class of 1971 (and some Vietnam vets from the class of 1974). "They are more concerned with private futures," he comments, "than with the public past." Nowhere is this trade in private futures so brisk as on the cultural exchange. Here the public past—whether it is slavery (*Roots*), the Holocaust, or Vietnam—comes wrapped in cellophane complete with indestructible heroes who build the better life. Events that swamped so many remain unaccountable, like a typhoon, while the spectator, who secretly believes in his own immortality anyway, survives with the fittest.

Combat high jinks.

Now that Vietnam and 1968, the year the country went round the bend, have reemerged in 1978 as fiction, it doesn't help the American survivors of this war to find themselves caricatured for mass

consumption—as they are, for example, most offensively in *The Boys in Company C*. Produced by a huge Hong Kong-based entertainment conglomerate headed by Raymond Chow (of *Kung Fu* fame), this Golden Harvest Production takes five all-American boys, standard brand, through induction, basic training (where "pussies turn into men") and on into combat, where it's all high jinks going downhill.

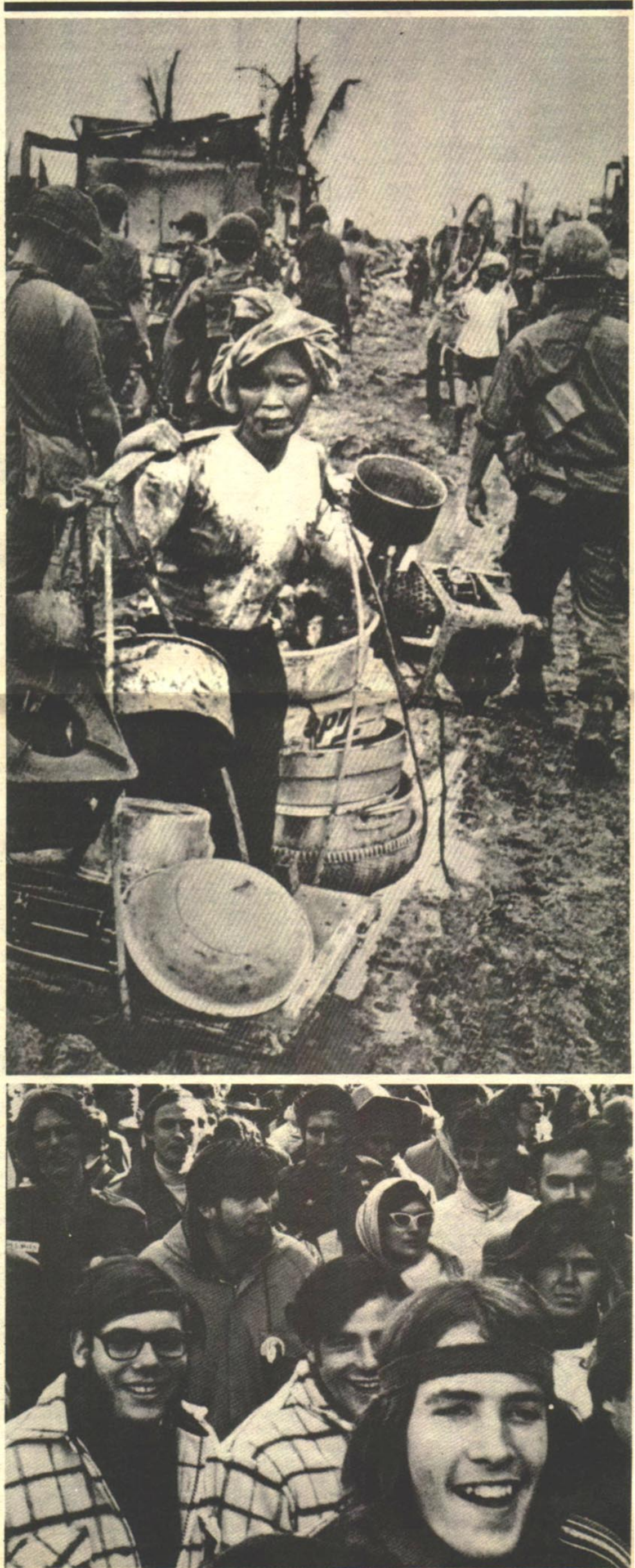
Like M*A*S*H (which taught us how to laugh at the futility of the Korean War), *the Boys* hammers out a standard mid-20th century message. Orders descend from above, like rain (who questions the weather?): take cover, tough it out, lose the game if necessary, but save the team. In an interesting transference, the destructiveness implicit in the orders (and the authorities to issue them) appears in the self-destructive tendencies of the rank and file. Only fresh blood from the ranks can turn the tide, and it is the black street hustler among the "boys" who is spotted by the pros and told: "You got eight weeks to teach these people what you learned in 20 years on the streets." After boot camp, he earns corporal stripes and marches on to become strawboss to a gang of dumb white niggers in Nam. So much for Black Power in the late '60s, when the movie is staged.

"*The Boys in Company C*," say the credits, "thank the Republic of the Philippines and its beautiful people for their kind cooperation in the making of this film." Even "Los Angeles" was recreated on location in Makati, a multinational commercial and shopping enclave in Manila. Despite martial law and uprisings in Mindanao, director Sidney J. Furie was granted the full cooperation of the Philippine Department of Defense—as was Francis Ford Coppola, who was weathering the same monsoons alongside Furie while filming *Apocalypse Now*. There is something bizarre in the spectacle of this colonial possession from an earlier era providing the artillery, tanks, helicopters, rolling stock and yellow faces (they all look alike) to give American movie directors the rich production values of another, more recent imperial adventure in the Pacific. The show must go on.

Since only "our" team is on camera, there is a certain loss of tension, of truth. We still don't know "what hit us." In fact, a total stranger to history might well leave his neighborhood theater possessed of the extraordinary idea that the origins of the war, the ferocity of its conduct, the death and mutilation of so many, lay in the psyche of the American soldier. For in these movies (and in memoirs like *Dispatches*), this is where the war is being dumped. Even in *Coming Home* Vietnam appears as a kind of free-floating nightmare from which only the fortunate few may awaken.

Nowhere in these movies do we meet the folks who brought us the Great Southeast Asian War, or see their reasons for it. (If we did, we might not stand by in all innocence while they warm up for another go at it in Africa.) Nor do we see the "enemy," the people whose revolution and 30-year fight for independence loomed so large in the minds of American policy-makers that in order to extinguish it they were willing to risk their own political survival at home and the lives of 3,000,000 Americans in Vietnam. Carol Brightman is a free-lance writer and a former editor of *Viet-Report*.

Nowhere is the trade in private futures so brisk as on the cultural exchange. Here the public past comes wrapped in cellophane, complete with indestructible heroes.



American players win big in Open's new digs

The fast, hard concrete playing surface gave American players a tremendous advantage in their own national championships.

By Mark Naison

THE YEAR'S U.S. OPEN MARKED an important step forward in the evolution of professional tennis, and potentially, in professional sports as a whole.

Traditionally played at the West Side Tennis club, a beautifully manicured facility with the atmosphere of an exclusive country club, the tournament moved to a new National Tennis Center constructed by the United States Tennis Association (USTA) in Flushing Meadow Park. Barren and utilitarian in appearance, surrounded by parking lots, highways and railroad tracks, the Center has two key features its predecessors lacked: it can hold upwards of 26,000 people (as compared to 13,000 at West Side) and it reverts to the public during the ten months of the year that it is not being used for tournaments.

This means that any New York City permit-holder can play on the same courts as Bjorn Borg and Martina Navratilova; that city high school championships can take place in a first class arena, and that clinics and exhibitions can be comfortably held in a setting where thousands of people can benefit. To give an idea of how unique this is, can you imagine Madison Square Garden being opened up at noon for pickup basketball games? Or Yankee Stadium housing the championships of the New York City high school baseball championships or of a South Bronx softball league? It's a precedent of inestimable value in a country where professional sports complexes are usually constructed at the expense of opportunities for popular recreation.

Nevertheless, the new Center is not without its own form of elitism. In the main stadium, all of the seats within 100 feet of the court are boxes sold in block for all two weeks of the tournament. This means that the best seats in the house are monopolized by corporations who use them as perks for executives or visiting businessmen, or by individuals wealthy enough to shell out \$300 per seat for the whole tournament. The rest of the public, who get their tickets through the mail on a first-come-first-served basis, can still get a good view of the action, but they sit too far away from the court to see the expressions on players' faces or hear their comments (which in some cases is an advantage).



Chris Evert beat back a strong challenge by Pam Shriver to win the women's championship.

In addition, the concessionaires at the Center couldn't resist the opportunity to make an easy buck from a captive audience. Hot dogs cost 95 cents, a regular sized Coke 65 cents, and strawberries and cream (for those with genteel tastes) \$2.95. At those prices, the smart thing to do is bring your own lunch.

Fast court aids Americans.

The level of tennis in the tournament was, on the whole, worthy of the huge crowds that attended. The surface on the Center's courts is a rubberized concrete on which the ball moves very fast. It was explicitly designed to give American players, largely brought up on hard surfaces, an advantage in their own national championship, and it wrought havoc with the games of some of the top clay court players from Europe and Latin America. The courts benefit players who serve and volley well, and make it quite difficult to hit top spin passing shots or lobs on all but the softest approach shots. As a result, Corrado Barrazuti and Guillermo Vilas, two of the highest seeds in the men's tournament, got knocked out in early rounds by young American players who would have offered them little competition on clay.

Still, the surface was slow enough to make for some great rallies and acrobatic shots, and to allow Chris Evert and Bjorn Borg, players most comfortable on the baseline, to reach the finals.

The final matches were most enjoyable to watch. In the women's division, Evert faced Pam Shriver, a 16-year-old American who had upset Martina Navratilova, the number one player in the world and an odds-on favorite to win the tournament. Shriver's emergence as a great player, like that of Tracy Austin, bodes well for the future of women's tennis. At six feet one inches tall, Shriver is the first woman player since Althea Gibson to combine that kind of size with great athletic ability, and there's no telling how good she is going to get. She has the hardest serve in women's tennis, great reach and accuracy on her volleys, and a

fine match temperament. Seemingly immune to the crowds and the pressure, she matched Evert shot for shot for two hours, succumbing only to the accuracy of her opponent's passing shots and lobs. On big points, Shriver invariably went to her strengths, coming to the net at the first available opportunity. It was Evert's great play, not her errors, that decided the match.

In the men's final, Bjorn Borg and Jimmy Connors showed once again why they are head and shoulders above the male players of their generation and are among the greatest players of all time.

With the grand slam on the line for Borg, and the number one ranking in the world up for grabs, both players came out slugging, trying to see if they could hit through the other player's ground strokes. They whipped the ball from side to side with great velocity, but neither player broke.

The difference came when they began attacking the net. In the middle of the first set it became apparent that Borg had much greater difficulty hitting passing shots off Connors' approaches than Connors did off his. As a result, Connors began attacking the net at every opportunity, including on Borg's second serve, and winning most of his points there.

As Connors' confidence rose his game soared to unbelievable levels. In his past matches with Borg he made the majority of the unforced errors, particularly on short balls to his forehand; in this match, he made almost none. Urging himself on with clenched fists, Connors hit hard from every position on the court, reluctant to give Borg—known for his endurance—the slightest opportunity to get back in the match.

Borg tried every trick at his disposal, charging the net on his serve, adding pace and depth to his ground strokes, hitting moonballs and lobs, but he couldn't disrupt Connors' rhythm or force him into easy mistakes. Every time Borg picked up his game a level Connors raised his accordingly. The result was an absolutely dazzling display of tennis virtuosity. ■